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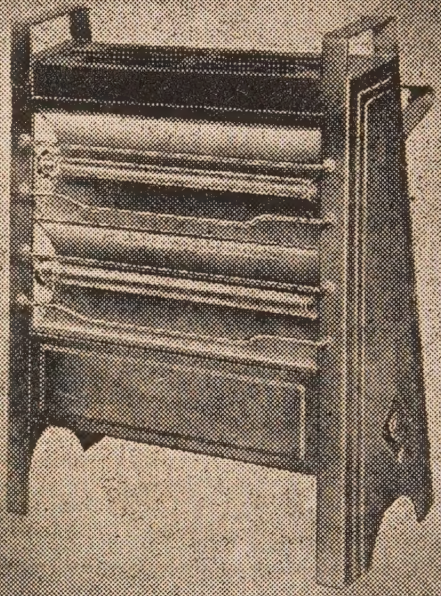

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VOL. XXVI No. 101

# STUDIES

## An Irish Quarterly Review

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# CATALONIA AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool

FOR the last few months, interest has centred in Madrid, the capital of Spain, rather than in Barcelona, Spain's largest and, in many ways, most important city. But, whatever may be the outcome of the Civil War, the time must come when Barcelona will occupy the centre of the stage on which the Spanish tragedy is being enacted. If General Franco advances eastwards from Madrid, the most formidable resistance he may expect to encounter will come from the " Spanish Free State " of Catalonia—that autonomous region in the north-east of the Peninsula of which Barcelona is the capital. If the Government wins the War, it is probable that, in the strife between its component parties which must ensue, the Anarcho-Syndicalists will attempt to establish a *régime* similar to that which is in force at the present time throughout Catalonia. If, as some think increasingly probable, an eventual stalemate on the field, with both armies in a condition of complete exhaustion, makes a peace by agreement practicable, one of the major questions to be decided will be the future of the two autonomous regions, of which Catalonia is the more important.

It would seem appropriate, therefore, at the end of the first six months of the War, to look at the history of Catalonia since the outbreak of hostilities.

During the first week of the War, Barcelona was more frequently in the foreign news than any other city in Spain. In Madrid, where for some years political opinion has been predominantly Socialistic, the disturbances were practically limited to a mutiny in the barracks of La Montaña, which was quelled in a few hours. In Seville, the insurgents gained immediate control of the city; in Valencia, there was no

serious outbreak against the Government. But in Barcelona, though one day of heavy fighting (July 19) and two days of minor engagements sufficed to defeat the insurgents, the subsequent events brought both city and province into unpleasant prominence. No sooner were the insurgents routed and their leaders, Generals Goded and Fernández Burriel, taken prisoners, to be shot a few days later, than anarchy broke loose in the city and the most uncompromising and least controllable of the Government's allies set out upon an orgy of destruction. Though the strictest censorship was imposed in Barcelona, *The Times* correspondent escaped across the French frontier and from Perpignan sent home two of the most vivid dispatches of the War, which appeared in the *Times* of July 23 and 24. These tell, not only of the fighting but also of the looting and the incendiarism which followed it. Most of the churches in the city, with the exception of the Cathedral, were wholly or partly destroyed by fire. Hotels, clubs, newspaper offices and private mansions were invaded, pillaged and taken possession of by the workers' Unions in the name of the "people." Outside Barcelona, in all directions, churches, monasteries, convents, seminaries and religious schools were burned freely. There was no pretence that any of the damage was done for military reasons. At Montserrat, thirty miles from Barcelona, in the heart of the country, the Benedictine monastery was attacked, together with its library, printing-press and choir school, and the monks and lay brothers were taken to Barcelona, whence all, save a few who were shot, made their escape to Italy. At Vich, a small cathedral town half-way to the French frontier, the Cathedral and most of the churches were burned and serious damage was done to the fine Episcopal Museum, though a great many treasures from the latter were saved and taken to Barcelona. In such matters as this the Generalitat, or Government of autonomous Catalonia, did excellent service to culture. With commendable promptness it formed committees of professors, librarians, archivists, museum officials and art critics, which systematically collected, catalogued and stored all objects of cultural importance. This action and the artistic sense which is well developed in

Spain even in the lowest classes give grounds for hope that the damage done may prove in the end to have been less extensive and less completely irremediable than was originally feared.

But if in this respect the Generalitat took a happy initiative, it soon found that in other directions its powers had been usurped by the workers' Unions. It was the local federation of the Syndicalist Unions, known popularly by its Spanish initials, C.N.T., which, after four days of confusion, characterized principally by the mobilization of the popular militias, gave the order to the workers of Barcelona to return to work, save those already training for military service, whose places would be filled by unemployed. On the same day, then, as that on which the first of innumerable columns of loyal militia left Barcelona for the Aragonese front, in the hope, which is still unrealized, of capturing Huesca and Zaragoza for the Government, an attempt was begun to remove the débris of barricades, half-destroyed motor-cars and litter of other kinds from Barcelona city and to " clean up " the place —unhappily in more senses than one.

In its more sinister sense, the cleaning-up was also the work of the Unions—where it was not that of entirely unauthorized individuals and bands of gangsters. During those first few weeks, the life of no man could be said to be safe, and even the lives of women and children were sometimes taken. It would throw this chronicle quite out of proportion were I to recount stories told me by refugees of their own experiences and those of their relatives and intimate friends. In the streets, one might at any moment be accosted by armed men and at the pistol point be required to prove that one was not a " Fascist," or indeed be hurried off to summary judgment and possible execution without having the chance to prove anything at all. One's home might without notice be invaded by the notorious " purification squads " and it was necessary to remove and destroy anything which might create suspicions of " Fascism "—such as Bibles, missals, religious books of any kind, crucifixes and the little medals worn by many Spaniards. Competent observers, at different periods during the summer of 1936, put the numbers of persons

" found dead " in the streets and cemeteries of Barcelona at from fifty to one hundred daily. *The Times* Barcelona correspondent (January 7, 1937) suggested, as a total figure for five and a half months, 4,000. Apologists for this *régime* give a much lower estimate : one writer, for example, in a recent book on the Civil War, suggests that we might accept the figure of two hundred per month. So be it ! The estimate is by far the lowest I have seen, but it is quite sufficiently horrible.

As soon as the first shock of the outbreak of war was over, the workers' Unions formed a General Military Committee to control the militias and at the same time took over the principal public services of Barcelona and other parts of the autonomous region. By the end of a month (I quote from the letter of a Barcelona correspondent written to me on August 15, 1936) " the city appears, in many respects, quite normal. Supplies are plentiful. Tram, bus and tube services are working just as regularly as of old. There are no taxis, but private cars have been freely requisitioned by militias and syndicates." Transport services were from the first controlled and organized by the Syndicalist " Confederation of Labour " (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Union (F.A.I.), and these letters, varied by the initials of the Socialist Union (U.G.T.) and the Republican Left Party of Catalonia (E.R.), were to be seen on all the vehicles in circulation.

Confiscations and expropriations proceeded continuously. Exactly a week after the suppression of the revolt in Barcelona the property of all persons implicated in it was declared by the Government to be forfeit, together with the whole of the property of the Church. But the workers' Unions went far beyond this decree. Hotels, public buildings, clubs, theatres and the houses of persons whose complicity in the rebellion might have been assumed but could certainly not be proved, were forcibly expropriated and made over to the workers for their use or enjoyment. Thus the Hotel Colón, which had been seized by the rebels on July 19, was by July 27 the headquarters of the P.S.U.C. (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia). The Hotel Falcón, whose proprietors, though

lifelong residents in Barcelona, had the misfortune to be Italians, was commandeered for the P.O.U.M. (Marxists). The Coliseum was made over to the militias organized by the separatist party known as " Estat Català." The magnificent Círculo Ecuestre, in the Paseo de Gracia, was turned into a workers' club. In much the same way, the newspapers were forced to print what the new masters of Catalonia demanded. Barcelona's oldest and most conservative periodical—the *Diario de Barcelona*, almost of the same age as *The Times*, which had been allowed, even under the Republic, to retain its monarchical and anti-autonomist opinions, was now transformed into a Socialist daily of exaggeratedly Catalanist views, and was published, not as of old in Spanish, but in Catalan.

Who were these new masters of Catalonia ? Quite openly, and almost without any pretence to the contrary, they were the workers' Unions. The Generalitat, or regional Government, continued to function ; but, though nominally it worked in collaboration with the Unions, it often did little but fall in with what they required and sign decrees along the dotted line. One of the earliest of these was the decree of July 27, ordering the citizens of every urban and rural district to recognize its mayor, working with the local revolutionary committee, as the supreme authority in local affairs. It will be observed that, even so early, the word " revolutionary " came to be used to denote those who claimed to be the legal, democratically elected authority and who had in fact just put down a revolution, while the " Fascists," who had originally been the rebels and who abroad were still commonly so described, began to be described as " counter-revolutionaries " or " enemies of the revolution." This was in accordance with facts, though not with the theory to which supporters of the Spanish Government abroad are trying to convert others. The abortive rising of July 18–20 had been immediately succeeded by a great political and social revolution, organized by the Left extremists, which was not generally recognized as such abroad because one part of its achievements had been the capture of the legally elected Government, which its leaders forced to do their will.

If we look at the situation in Catalonia in this way, we shall not be surprised at the next step taken by the Government—that of resignation. In Barcelona, as in Madrid, the workers' Unions, even those opposed in principle to parliamentary rule, could not tolerate the continuance in office of a government composed of men whom they considered mere bourgeois politicians, with affiliations to a comparatively academic Left. On August 1, therefore, the Cabinet (or Council, as it is called in Catalonia) was reconstituted and enlarged, under the former Speaker of the Catalan Parliament, Senyor Joan Casanovas, with the result that, instead of being composed entirely of Left Republicans (known as the Esquerra and corresponding approximately to the party formerly led by Señor Azaña in Madrid), it had only four representatives of this group, which, with the Socialist group of three, made up the comparatively moderate minority. The majority consisted exclusively of proletarians : three Syndicalists, two Anarchists, one Marxist, one Moscow Communist and one representative of the peasants. The new Government described its aims as the defeat, outside Catalonia, of the followers of General Franco and, within Catalonia, as the consolidation of the workers' revolution and the new State.

Whatever may be said of their efforts in the first direction, they proceeded with great energy in the second. Their tactics, to quote the words of the leader of the P.O.U.M., were to fortify their position " by successive advances, such as the seizure of utilities, industries and land, obtaining higher wages, shorter hours, and so on. The railways and the supplies of water and electricity are now in the hands of the workers. The peasants are being told to lend a hand and are doing so."[1] This was a record of simple fact. The seizure of estates, which had been going on unchecked in various parts of Spain for some months before the outbreak of war, became a popular way of " lending a hand " in Catalonia. The original Government had authorized a forty-hour week, a 25 per cent. decrease in rents, a 15 per cent. increase in wages, a debt moratorium and the suspension of evictions for the non-payment of rent.

[1] Andrés Nin, as reported in *The Times*, August 3, 1936.

No sooner was the new Government formed than its proletarian members began to press for more, and that immediately. But the pace was already too fast for the minority ; within a week an open clash had taken place between Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists ; the former lost the day and resigned, with the result that the Government, reduced in numbers, moved farther to the Left still.

With the exception of the members of the Esquerra, who remained to watch the particular interests (by many forgotten and unheeded) of Catalonia, the Government was now wholly proletarian. For nearly two months, while elsewhere in Spain the insurgents were advancing from one success to another and closing in from the north, south and west on Madrid, the Catalonian Government, now united in the closest collaboration with the workers' Unions, was engaged in prosecuting the twofold programme already outlined. In the field, the militias met with ill-fortune : in Aragon, they reached the suburbs of Huesca in mid-September, but remained (and at the time of writing, five months later, still remain) outside the city itself ; in Majorca, their other main objective, they effected a landing and made a small advance on Palma, but were driven back to their first positions and eventually had to withdraw from the island altogether.

In its task of organizing the " new State " of Catalonia the Government made more satisfactory progress. For the sake of brevity, we may leave out of account the campaign which it pursued against the Church, secularizing all ecclesiastical buildings and confiscating ecclesiastical property throughout the region—not because it is not of the utmost importance in any survey of the *régime*, but because the facts are well known. More to its credit are the efforts that it made to stop the terrorism which was becoming increasingly dominant in the new *régime*. Towards the end of August, and again in September, President Companys's organ, *La Humanitat*, printed a long exhortation to anti-Fascist bodies in this sense, and at the end of August posters all over Barcelona carried the following proclamation :—

"Any persons who carry out a search or investigation

into private houses or other buildings without the previous authorization of the Committee of the Anti-Fascist militias will be executed without trial."

Either the exhortations or the posters took effect, and, since the beginning of September, reports of terrorism have become very much fewer.

The manufacture of war material was expedited and augmented to the fullest possible extent. A Committee of War Industry, set up by the Generalitat on August 8, took control of " all factories, workshops, laboratories and centres of industrial mobilization and technical experiment in arms and war material," while on the same date a supplementary decree authorized the seizure, for war purposes, of a number of well-known and important businesses, such as Pirelli, Rivière and Hispano-Suiza. All factories and other businesses which had been abandoned or closed down by their proprietors were given seven days to start work again under Boards of Control to be formed by the employees themselves ; if this opportunity were not taken, they too would be confiscated by the Generalitat. Catalonia, in short, was to be made to produce the fullest possible quota of war material, both for her own eventual needs and for the common cause.

By the next week the Generalitat had formed a Council of Economy, to deal with wider questions of organization and to solve problems encountered during the reconstructional period. The Minister (or, more correctly, " Councillor ") of Economy in the Generalitat was appointed President of the Committee : four of its members were drawn from the Republican Left ; three were Socialists ; three Syndicalists ; two Anarchists ; and one each represented the P.O.U.M., P.S.U.C. and Rabassaires, or peasants. A few days later a still more drastic " mobilization of industry " was announced, which aimed, in the words of the decree (August 15), at bringing in " all citizens capable of producing or utilizing any kind of material necessary for war " and at once impounded the services of everyone in this class, whether master, employee or other person with professional technical qualifications. Many more businesses were confiscated for the same purpose,

notably the oil monopoly company known (from the initials of its long title) as Campsa.

Life was, of course, even with the decrease of terrorism, by no means normal, and artificial means had to be resorted to in order both to satisfy the demands of the proletariat and to ease the burdens that lay heavily upon the middle classes. A decree issued on August 13 made further reductions in the rent of urban property—for it was in the towns that life was most difficult—amounting to 50 per cent. in the case of properties of which the rentals did not exceed 200 pesetas (at par, £8) monthly. Effective steps were taken, before the end of the summer, to prevent undue rises in the prices of essential articles of subsistence. Some of the restrictions on the drawing of money were loosened, and, with a possible eye to the future as well as to the present, the Government assumed control of the Bank of Spain throughout Catalonia, as well as of the financial delegations of the Central Government of Spain—both these measures, of course, being taken for the duration of the War only.

One more measure of the Casanovas Government should be referred to here—the creation of " Juries of the People " for " the repression of Fascism." This was a movement, no doubt, either inspired by, or worked out in collaboration with, the Madrid Government. The decree giving effect to it, dated August 25, 1936, inveighs against the " widespread Fascist conspiracy, which is contrary to the spirit of the proletariat," and declares that, as exemplary justice must pursue the criminals " even to the remotest corners in which they may be hiding," the most practicable method of ensuring this is that " the people and the profession of the law " shall act in collaboration. The Juries of the People shall therefore be composed of a magistrate and two assistant magistrates, together with twelve jurors chosen from among the people. The jurors shall decide if the charges brought for investigation are relevant to the " Fascist movement," and, where they find them to be so, shall pronounce upon them ; the magistrates shall determine the penalties to be inflicted. The juries immediately set to work, and, from this time onwards,

the papers continually gave prominence to their sentences. It may be hoped that this extension of justice, in Catalonia as in Madrid, did something to assuage the violence of popular passion and was responsible for a still greater decrease in the number of assassinations than has already been recorded.

At the end of September a new crisis arose in the Government, which may be sufficiently explained by the nature of the actions of its successor. This again moved a little farther to the Left. The Esquerra had now only three Councillors; the Syndicalists had three; the P.S.U.C. two; and three other extremist parties one each. The Socialists (though the U.G.T. expressed its general adherence to the policy of the P.S.U.C.) were again unrepresented. The nominal head of this Council was Senyor Companys himself, who for ordinary purposes was to delegate his functions to Senyor Josep Terradellas, of the Esquerra, who in the preceding administration had been Minister for Economy and President of the newly-formed Economy Council.

The new Government at once (September 26) issued a manifesto of defiance to Fascism and a statement of its immediate aims, which were, briefly, intensification of effort in the War, the economic reconstruction of the country and (a rather surprising addition in the circumstances) the creation of a "New Unified School" or, as we should say, the construction of an efficient educational ladder.

Comparatively little was done by this Government under the last head, though the University of Barcelona had already taken the opportunity of breaking its last links with Madrid and, opening its doors more widely, had proclaimed itself the "Autonomous University of Catalonia" and the University of the People. The Government became known chiefly for its radical economic and social measures and for its intensification of contact with Soviet Russia.

During the latter part of its life of rather over two months, this last phenomenon can no doubt be largely explained by the increasing help which Soviet Russia was sending to Madrid and to other parts of Spain by way of Barcelona—help in

the form of men, war material, food and money. It was natural that, when Russian ships arrived at Barcelona, they should be given the most rousing of welcomes, and even that the celebrations in that city, on November 8, of the nineteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution should rival the national celebrations of September 11, which until this year had had no parallel for spontaneous fervour. But the Government's closest contact with the Soviet Consul and (at a somewhat later date) with the Soviet Ambassador seems to have begun soon after the formation of the Terradellas Council. Presumably it was all part of the intensification programme, which was proceeded with at once by the decision to impose compulsory military instruction for all able-bodied men between 18 and 40, to establish a military aviation camp, to mobilize all civil pilots and to call up all former non-commissioned officers in the Army.

No doubt it was largely through the influence of Andrés Nin, leader of the Unified Marxists, who became Councillor of Justice in the new Government, that a " revolutionary decree transforming the administration of justice " was promulgated in mid-October, tightening up the system of Juries, now to be called Popular Tribunals, and giving a greater share of power in them to the people. There are now seven of these Tribunals—four sitting in Barcelona and one each in Tarragona, Lérida and Gerona. All cases have to be concluded in a maximum period of forty-eight hours; the President of each Tribunal alone is a professional lawyer; and each of the remaining members (whose number has been reduced to eight) represents one of the groups which form part of the Generalitat's Council.

But at the end of October, a few days after the President of the Republic had moved his headquarters to Barcelona, the Generalitat published what was by far the most important of its decrees as yet, re-organizing industry and commerce on a collectivist basis. For many weeks past collectivism had been in the air—not to say " on the air," as listeners to Barcelona are well aware. Various systematic attempts had been made, since the " Revolution " began, to collectiviz$_e$

agriculture, and Syndicalists and Socialists had united their efforts to restrain and control individual action, which might well be harmful. Notices, in fact, had appeared in all the Catalonian newspapers warning proprietors and tenants of land that premature attempts at collectivization were contrary both to the law of the country and to the rules laid down by the Workers' Unions. In relation to commerce and industry, however, projects for collectivization had been worked out in detail. The decree of October 28, 1936, is preceded by a preamble too long to reproduce in full but of considerable interest. Implying that capitalists were solely responsible for the Civil War, which was declared " in order to save their privileges," it promises that " the victory of the people shall mean the death of capitalism," and considers that the present is the time to lay the foundations of a *régime* in which the worker shall be the sole beneficiary of labour and unearned incomes shall be unknown.

" After the 19th of July," continues the preamble, " the bourgeoisie, being avowedly Fascist, deserted from their posts. The majority of them have fled to foreign countries ; a minority have disappeared." These sentences hardly require comment. " The industries affected," it goes on to say, " could not remain without directors, and the workers decided to intervene and created committees of control." Then comes a remarkable confession of weakness : " The Council of the Generalitat was obliged to sanction what the workers had done upon their own initiative and to guide it into suitable channels." Since in some cases what they had done was to take possession of entire businesses, the only remedy was collectivization.

The origin of the decree having been explained with such commendable frankness, the scheme is then set out in no less than thirty-nine clauses. Here it must suffice to say that all industrial and commercial concerns which on June 30, 1936, had more than one hundred employees, as well as all whose employers have been denounced as in sympathy with the military rebellion or have abandoned their businesses, are to be obligatorily collectivized. Businesses having fewer

employees may also be collectivized if three-quarters of the latter so desire. The Council of Economy, furthermore, may agree to collectivize " other industries which, either for their national importance or for any other reasons," it seems well to release from the category of private concerns. The denouncing of employers is to be left to the Popular Tribunals. It may be confidently forecast that, if the present *régime* in Catalonia continues, few " private concerns " will be left.

It is hardly necessary to contrast the new Catalonia with the old or to point out how, partly through the initiative of those who have seized power in the new State and partly through the force of circumstances, this region is now all but independent of the Central Government of Madrid. One by one, the prerogatives retained for Madrid in the Statute of Catalan Autonomy have been taken over by the autonomous region. Education in all its grades, conditions of immigration and emigration, control of associations and of the Press, the socialization of wealth, the administration of military justice—these are among the Generalitat's recent conquests. The fifteenth article of the Statute, which provides that all questions of competency which may be in dispute between the Republic and Catalonia shall be referred to the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees—an article which had such violent repercussions in the late summer of 1934—seems now impossibly archaic. One can hardly think that the Statute of Autonomy, in its present form, is not as dead as the Second Republic.

On December 7, 1936, the Generalitat snapped yet another of the bonds which still bound it to Madrid by creating a separate army for Catalonia, consisting of nine infantry regiments, with corresponding strength in the other arms. On December 11, a new decree authorized the issue of separate coinage, in the shape of notes for ten, five and two and a half pesetas. Two days later, dissensions between Syndicalists, Socialists and Marxists which had been gathering for some weeks, reached a climax. Senyor Terradellas declared openly that he could no longer continue at the head of a Government such as that now in office. This was interpreted to mean that Esquerra Republicana was not only embarrassed by the

discussions of the various extremist groups but resented the domination by non-parliamentary organizations of what was still in name a Catalonian Government. During the critical days which elapsed before the Government was reconstructed, however, the most sensational rumours found credence. According to these, Esquerra Republicana was advocating, preparing or even carrying on negotiations with General Franco for the conclusion of a separate peace with Catalonia, the terms to include a guarantee of Catalonian autonomy. The imminence of a formidable insurgent attack upon Barcelona from the Balearic Islands was also spoken of, and the bombing of the Port Bou frontier-station on December 16 lent colour to this report. Even the date of the hypothetical attack was given—the second day of the New Year, the rumour being that General Franco had given the peace party until New Year's Day to come to its decision.

The date passed, no attack took place, and the entire crop of rumours began to be discredited. But there is every reason to believe that they had a basis in fact, though the breadth of the basis cannot at present be determined. It is difficult to believe that, had peace proposals been made, they would have found acceptance at Nationalist headquarters, for " No Autonomy " appears to be one of General Franco's fundamental principles of government and the morale of his forces is still high. But, supposing that he were prepared to discuss terms, he would hardly tolerate the existence within Spain of a collectivist State completely opposed to all the traditions for which his Junta stands. Nor would the makers of such a State, on their side, wish to conclude peace, for the extremists who now have virtual control of Catalonia, well satisfied with the success of their internal Revolution and confident of the eventual triumph of their arms throughout Spain, " have only one resolve : the defeat of Fascism ; and only one policy : the maintenance of an anti-Fascist alliance."[1] It is the Catalan Home Rulers, it seems, who would for the most part welcome the conclusion of a peace with honour and

[1] From the manifesto " Al Pueblo " issued by the C.N.T. during the crisis and published in the Barcelona press of December 13, 1936.

autonomy, for these are crushed between the millstones of General Franco abroad and the Anarcho-Syndicalists at home. It is not they who have willed the " proletarian revolution " : they have simply been forced into acquiescence with it.

At the end of five days the crisis was resolved, and a new Council, presided over nominally, as before, by Senyor Companys, and in practice by Senyor Terradellas, was appointed. At first sight there seemed very little of note in its composition. The Esquerra had again three portfolios ; the U.G.T., which had for long been at loggerheads with the P.O.U.M. and P.S.U.C. and had made good its claim to representation, also had three ; the C.N.T. had four and the Rabassaires one. But one notable figure in the Esquerra disappeared : Senyor Ventura Gassol, the friend and right-hand man of President Companys, who had, except for the fifteen months of his imprisonment after the fiasco of October 1934, been continuously Councillor for Culture since the establishment of the Second Republic in April 1931. Everyone felt his disappearance from the Council to be significant. His successor, Antonio María Sbert, is a young man of energy and force of character, who, as it chanced, unwittingly played a part in the events which led to the fall of the Monarchy : he was the university student whose treatment by Primo de Rivera caused the university riots which contributed so largely to the establishment of the Republic. Youth also enters the new Government in the person of the Syndicalist Councillor for Health and Social Services, Pedro Herrera, who, at 27, is the youngest man ever to have held a portfolio in the Generalitat. Of the four Syndicalists, three are new members—a fact which may later prove significant—and two of these, Diego Abad de Santillán, a man of forty who has spent half his life disseminating Anarchist ideals abroad, and Francisco Isgleas, an employee in a cork factory who has eloquence and some experience of revolutionary organization, will probably play an important *rôle* in future developments, which cannot be far distant.

E. Allison Peers

# HISTORY OF CARLISM IN SPAIN*

BY A. A. PARKER

Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

THAT no satisfactory history of Spain has yet been written is a statement that few, I think, will dispute. In the first place most of the histories are political histories, and there is perhaps no country in Europe where modern politics have been more divorced from social life than in Spain. There is, for example, no economic history of the country, and such a history is obviously a crying need for the proper understanding of Spain's position in Europe from the sixteenth century to the present day. Further, historians, and especially English historians, have largely followed the Whig tradition, and have looked at and judged the past from the point of view of the present, unconsciously or even consciously misrepresenting facts, or slurring over movements that at the time they wrote seemed unimportant, but which at the time they happened were of supreme importance.

The aspect of Spanish history which forms the subject of this paper is one to which this characteristic one-sided treatment has been given by historians. It is not possible to do justice to the subject within the limits of one paper, but it is at least possible to show how the balance may be in part righted. This will necessitate concentration on that side of the subject that has been more neglected, and this I shall attempt to do by devoting the greater part of this paper to a summary of the ideas behind the Carlist movement rather than to the events to which it gave rise.

Carlism as a party was born towards the end of Ferdinand VII's troubled and disastrous reign, during the years in which he was brutally suppressing the liberalism he had found nominal master of the country on his return in 1814 from his captivity under Napoleon. Ferdinand had had no heirs by

* A paper read before a meeting of the Lingard Society.

his first three marriages, and it was already presumed that his brother Charles would succeed him when the queen died in 1829. Within a few months Ferdinand married his young niece Maria Cristina, and an heir was promised. If a daughter were to be born to him, she could not succeed to the throne under the Salic Law promulgated in Spain in 1713 by the first Bourbon, Philip V. Charles IV had, however, abrogated this law with the approval of the Cortes in 1789, but had never promulgated this decision. Ferdinand, therefore, decreed this abrogation or law of 1789 in force; and in 1830 the princess Isabella was born. Charles and the faction at court that supported his claim to the succession refused to consider as valid the sanction in 1830 of a law passed in 1789, alleging in addition that, as Charles had been born in 1788, the law of 1789 could not affect his rights. On Ferdinand's death in 1833 Isabella was declared queen, with Cristina as regent. Charles, now known as Charles V by his followers, thereupon began the first civil war that lasted from 1833 to 1839. His son, the Count de Montemolín, became, as Charles VI, the second pretender, to be succeeded by his nephew Charles VII, Duke of Madrid. Under this third pretender the Carlists waged the second civil war from 1873 to 1876.

Now it is obvious that the legitimist claims of one branch of a royal family are not likely to arouse sufficient popular support for the pretenders to wage two long civil wars, unless those claims are identified with a wider cause. Men will not risk their lives in order to put a pretender on the throne, unless they are convinced that he stands for something that affects them closely, that he stands for a cause whose triumph will mean the triumph of ideals and interests that they have most at heart. And, in fact, the motto and battle cry of the Carlists was not "The Salic Law," but "God, Country and King." If we turn to historians for enlightenment as to what this motto meant and what it was that Carlism stood for apart from legitimism, we are told it was for monarchical despotism and fanaticism. Thus for G. F. White the party was formed of "irreconcilables who, not content that all education should be in the hands of Jesuits and monks, were now in arms

against their sovereign because he would not, in effect, rule sufficiently despotically "—White had already shown Ferdinand to be the bloodiest of tyrants. And Prof. Atkinson, to take a more recent example, likewise dismisses the Carlists as a " party not satisfied with the fanaticism and obscurantism even of Ferdinand."

Such an explanation explains nothing, least of all the heroic support given to the movement by the Basque peasantry and by so large a section of the Catalan peasantry. Despotism and fanaticism are, in any case, words that mean very little, because they mean something different for everybody that uses them. What is fanaticism and despotism for one can be enlightenment for another. In any case, it is no use saying that any group of people are fanatical unless you say what they are fanatical about, and to say that a man is fanatical about despotism is, to my mind, meaningless unless it refers to the despot himself.

Carlism can be defined in a few words as the defence of tradition and the old order against the new revolution of liberalism. What this tradition and this revolution were I have time only to sketch in the briefest possible form.

Spain arose as a nation at the end of the fifteenth century with the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, a union that ushered in the Golden Age of Spanish history and culture. The most striking thing about this new nation was its unity, a unity that was a national ideal to which everything was subordinated ; and this unity can be said—still more when the unbroken continuity with the ideals of medieval life is borne in mind—to have constituted the essence of the tradition that Hapsburg Spain bequeathed to the Bourbons.

It was a unity that rested on two closely united bases—Catholicism and Monarchy. The one dominated the whole cultural and social life of the nation ; the other dominated political life. The monarchy stood for the principle of authority, social order and unity, but though it meant political unity it did not mean political and administrative centralization. After the union under one crown Spain remained composed of the kingdom of León and Castile (with the subordinate kingdoms of Andalusia, Granada, Jaén, Murcia,

and Galicia), the kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon and Valencia, the two principalities of Asturias and Catalonia, the lordship of Vizcaya and the two so-called " exempted provinces," Alava and Guipúzcoa. To these was later added the kingdom of Portugal. Each kingdom, or region, or group of kingdoms had its own special laws or *fueros*, its own institutions and customs, and its own administrative system. In addition, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and later Portugal, had their own Cortes with their permanent " Deputation," all distinct from the Castilian-Leonese Cortes in which the rest of the country was represented. The king was not King of Spain, but " King of the Spains," ruling in each region as king, prince or lord, as the case might be, according to the customs and institutions of that region.

Although the unity of Spain under one crown did of necessity mean the weakening of the old power of the Cortes, yet it seems that one must be careful of exaggerating this or of minimizing the amount of independence enjoyed by regional and local government. Although the Hapsburg monarchy is always looked upon as incarnating absolutism, one must use the word with caution. For, as Altamira is careful to point out, the power of the monarchy was limited by the pre-existing *fueros* of the regions and their towns, which the king, before he was recognized as king by any region, had to swear to maintain and obey. With the sole exception of Philip II's intervention in Aragon following on the affair of Antonio Pérez, the *fueros* were scrupulously respected. Philip IV refused to support the centralization urged by Olivares ; and when the latter infringed the rights of Portugal and Catalonia, these two regions revolted. Portugal was lost, but Catalonia was conquered—Philip to his credit re-affirming every one of its rights and laws. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the great Spanish philosophers and theologians of the time were the strongest opponents in Europe of the doctrine of Divine Right, explicitly affirming the principle of the sovereignty of the people and the limitation of the power of the king by the moral law and the terms of the contract between him amd the people comprised in the written laws *and customs* of the nation and the regions.

What the Carlists called Spanish tradition can therefore be summed up as follows: regionalism, but a strong national unity under Catholicism and Monarchy, with the primacy of religion in the national life; an authoritative monarchy with legislative and executive power, bound by the moral law and by the written laws and customs of the regions; and Cortes to ratify and petition for legislation, to guard the fundamental laws of the kingdoms, and to prevent abuse of the royal power. This, in brief, is the meaning of the motto, "God, Country and King."

The coming of the Bourbons in 1700 brought the first attempts to change the national tradition. Philip V disliked regionalism and endeavoured to introduce centralization on the French model. Moreover, the Aragonese, Catalans and Valencians had sided with the Archduke Charles against him (chiefly because the latter had solemnly promised to respect their *fueros*). And so in 1707 the *fueros* of Aragon and Valencia were suppressed by decree; those of Catalonia also but more slowly, until in 1716 autonomy was abolished except for part of the criminal law, separate currency and a separate system of taxation. The civil legislation of Aragon was restored in 1711 and survived till 1833, and the movement to suppress the Basque *fueros* did not materialize. The rest of the country was, however, governed by Castilian law under the central administration. The Castilian Cortes of 1709 had for the first time contained Aragonese and Valencian "proctors," and those of 1724 united all the regional Cortes except those of Navarre—which alone survived.

The whole movement towards political, economic and educational reform followed French lines. Thus the tendency was towards absolutism and regalism and its attendant movement of *hispanismo* or denial of the right of papal jurisdiction in religious matters; Jansenism, anti-clericalism and free-thought. In short, the ideas of the encyclopædists prevailed among Spanish intellectuals, who for the most part attributed the decadence of the country to the old order and to the supremacy of the Church in the national life. All these movements found spirited opponents, and none of them really materialized.

Whereas the old order had largely grown up organically from below, it is clear that these new movements were imposed artificially from above by a minority. The new order, which we can now definitely call liberalism, came into power with the Cortes of Cadiz and the Constitution of 1812, though it did not become definitely established until 1835 and the years following. Throughout this paper I use the word liberalism in its widest sense, not to denote one particular party, but the movement which inspired all parties except the Carlists—the movement towards economic individualism and capitalism; parliamentary government and constitutional monarchy; free-thought, religious liberty, and the virtual subordination of the Church to the State.

The break with the past that the constitution of 1812 attempted to effect was ruthless—complete centralization and unification of the country; a unified legal and administrative system; the destruction of regional boundaries and the creation of artificial provinces with provincial administration under a "political chief" or government agent; a moderate constitutional monarchy with a parliament elected by indirect suffrage; the destruction of the old economic order, abolition of the guilds, enclosures, suppression of feudal privileges, the right given to individuals to found factories and to practise any trade without membership or certificate of a corporation; the partial confiscation of Church property and the suppression of the Inquisition and of ecclesiastical censorship—to be followed in 1820, when the military revolt of Riego restored the liberals to power, by the seizure of all Church property and the suppression of all religious orders. The only link that remained with the past was the acknowledgment of Catholicism as the sole religion of Spain and the prohibition of the public or private practice of any other. It was only fear of clerical fanaticism that prevented the liberals, as Toreno afterwards confessed, from enshrining the principle of religious liberty in the constitution of 1812.

That this liberal reconstruction of Spain was purely artificial is revealed by the ease with which Ferdinand in 1814 abolished the constitution and repealed all the legislation that enforced

it. Everywhere the people acclaimed the return to monarchical rule, tearing down in Valencia the stone that gave its name to Constitution Square. It is revealed also by the total lack of resistance offered by the liberals in 1823 to the French army sent by the Holy Alliance to restore Ferdinand to personal power. Until an economic history of Spain can show us to what extent, if at all, capitalism had taken root, I think it correct to surmise that liberalism was at this period the doctrinaire ideal of a minority and corresponded to no nation-wide economic movement.

The situation at the end of Ferdinand's reign was uncertain. Historians insist that Charles had set his heart on succeeding to his brother's throne at all costs, but it is indisputable that the question of the succession had become something more than a mere dynastic conflict fostered by court intrigues. Queen Cristina had openly shown her readiness to compromise with liberalism, and it was she who would rule as regent during Isabella's minority. Charles, on the other hand, had been looked upon as an upholder of the old traditions, and it was in defence of these, not in defence of legitimism, that men, and in the first place the Basque peasantry, rallied to his cause. It seems clear, however, that at court and in the towns only the more extreme and intransigent traditionalists supported Charles in his claim, and this uncompromising attitude, summed up in the phrase *Todo o nada*—" Everything or nothing "—characterized the first phase of Carlism.

The identification of traditionalism with a dynastic claim was, in any case, unfortunate for the cause; for whatever justification the defenders of the old order might have had in refusing to recognize Isabella as queen, there is no doubt that by supporting the claims of Charles they served only to bring about the triumph of liberalism by splitting the anti-liberal forces into two. Whether the conservative elements in the nation would have been strong enough to resist successfully the spirit of the age, had this split not occurred, must remain a doubtful point. But it is a fact, nevertheless, that liberalism was only able to assert itself with great difficulty during the course of the century; and had the traditional

parties remained strong and united, it is legitimate to suppose that more of the old order might have survived than is the case to-day—at least Spanish political life might have been less chaotic than it was and is to-day.

As it was, the considerable section of traditionalist opinion that supported Isabella as the rightful sovereign was forced to compromise to a certain extent with liberalism. Had this not been the case Isabella's cause must have been lost. There was thus born the party of the moderates, as distinct from the progressives or pure liberals. Little by little the moderates drew nearer to the progressives, finally giving rise to the post-restoration conservative party which championed practically none of the principles for which Carlism still stood.

The years following the death of Ferdinand in 1833 to the end of Espartero's Regency in 1844 thus mark the definite reconstruction of Spain on the liberal lines laid down by the constitution of 1812 and re-affirmed by that of 1837, with a more open anticlerical bias even than that manifested by the liberal Cortes of 1820—1823. Thus in 1834, during an outbreak of cholera, about a hundred monks and friars were massacred by the mob in Madrid on the instigation of the *exaltados* or extreme liberals, who maintained that the religious had poisoned the water supply. In the following year Toreno's government suppressed the Society of Jesus and confiscated its property, suppressing also all religious houses that had less than twelve inmates. In 1836 Mendizábal suppressed all religious houses for men and put their property up for sale in order to relieve the disastrous condition of the treasury. This was followed by the dissolution once more of all religious orders, the confiscation and sale of diocesan property, the abolition of tithes upon which 40,000 priests depended. This process was spread over a number of years, being finally completed in 1869. From the point of view of the national finances the whole of this confiscation and sale was mismanaged from beginning to end, and the State never enjoyed the profit it expected. The misery this caused among the clergy was extreme. To remedy it Mendizábal was forced to introduce a system of direct taxation for church purposes; and when

this soon fell through, he had finally to institute an annual subsidy which, with many vicissitudes, was paid until the constitution of 1931 decreed its abolition.

The importance of these measures, to my mind, lies not so much in their anticlerical as in their political and economic aspects, for they served to create a solid block of vested economic interests—those of the new proprietors—which became a bulwark of liberalism. This was naively admitted in 1854 when, with Espartero in power, a committee of the Cortes was appointed to report on the advisability of putting up for sale the property of the charitable and educational institutions run by the Church. The committee reported favourably, giving as their reason the fact that this measure would " increase the number of proprietors for ever united to the cause of the revolution." The measure was duly carried through, the State finding itself burdened with the upkeep of schools and hospitals.

Martínez Marina, himself a priest, had at the beginning of the century hotly championed the despoliation of the Church, but with the aim of distributing land among the poor and improving their lot. This, however, was never the intention of the liberals. Only the wealthy could buy church property, and they became wealthier. In the Cortes the moderates thundered against this legislation, the Duke of Rivas condemning it in a few words : " Everything has disappeared into thin air. The army has not been increased by one battalion, nor the navy by even a barge, nor has the lot of the proletariat been improved." The moderates, however, when in power, though they claimed not to recognize the legitimacy of this despoliation, also claimed that it was impracticable to restore the property. Consequently, in the Concordat of 1851 the Pope was forced to recognize the state of affairs, the government agreeing to pay an annual subsidy to the clergy. Actually the moderates, as we shall see, were actuated also by a motive even less worthy than that of expediency.

It was during these years that the Carlist war was brought to an end. Faced with the impossibility of further resistance the Basques required as the terms of peace that the Government

should give its solemn assurance to respect their autonomy and the *fueros*. Many of the leading Carlists also urged that the peace terms should include the marriage of Isabella to the Count de Montemolín, eldest son of the pretender. In this they were supported at the time by France; but Great Britain, anxious (as we shall see again) to prevent anything that would weaken liberalism, opposed this marriage and suggested that the Basque *fueros* should only be retained in so far as they were compatible with the parliamentary system.

Peace was signed on these terms in 1839 by Espartero (soon to be Regent of the country following the expulsion of Cristina) and by several of the Carlist generals; but Maroto, their leader, hesitated at the end to sign a treaty on terms which Charles himself had in any case refused to consider. The practical result, in so far as it affected the Basques, was that in the following year Espartero abolished the *fueros* by decree. All that the Basques had fought for was lost, and the cause of their independence and traditions became still further identified with Carlism.

The man who, both by his writings and political activities, can be taken as most representative of the second phase of Carlism, which can now be said to begin, is Jaime Balmes—a man of intense literary activity. His writings are, of their kind, among the most interesting that his century produced in Spain. A Catalan, a priest, a philosopher, a Catholic apologist, a political essayist, his whole endeavour can be summed up as an attempt, not always clearly conceived or expressed, to bring about as much harmony as possible between an integral Catholic view of life and the spirit of the age, an attempt visible as much in his philosophical writings as in his political theory. But the story of this remarkable man and the subsequent history of Carlism down to the present Civil War, in which it is playing an important part, must await a further article.

A. A. Parker

# THE SPECTRE OF COMMUNISM*

BY REV. JOHN VILLAIN, S.J.
Assistant Director of the Action Populaire

"A SPECTRE haunts Europe, the spectre of Communism." This sentence, which sounds as if of yesterday, was written a century ago by Marx and Engels at the head of the manifesto which they launched on the world—at the head of that manifesto which, if we are to believe our modern Communists, "constitutes in some sort the fundamental charter of Communism" and "serves more and more as a guide to millions of workers in their revolutionary struggle."[1]

"A spectre haunts Europe": a reassuring sentence when we recall that it was not yesterday that Marxism began to cry victory; but also a disquieting sentence when we remember that the present situation is not merely the result of a sudden surprise, of a passing discontent, of an electoral campaign skilfully organised. Alas! it is the fruit of a propaganda which, for a hundred years, has scarcely known cessation or diminution in its education of the working classes; a propaganda which little by little has prepared the minds and rendered them receptive to the communist thought, if not to the communist dogma; a tenacious and persistent propaganda which has slowly undermined the social structure. Already, nearly twenty years ago, a great landslide took place at the other end of Europe; and the anxious question now is whether France is not about to suffer a similar collapse.

Communism is a conception or philosophy of the world—a false conception and a deadly disease. Now, in order to understand the nature of this conception and to discover the most efficacious vaccine for the disease it is necessary to study the soul of Communism. For this purpose we divide this paper into three parts: (1) the basic principles of Communism; (2) its mystic and religious character; (3) its methods of propaganda.

* The substance of a paper read at the Semaine Sociale of Versailles, 15 August 1936.
[1] "Pour l'Etude du Marxisme" (*Guide de Lectures*) p. 111.

## The Principles of Communism

A first difficulty meets us at the threshold of our study. What form of Communism do we propose to expound ? All admit that modern Communism derives from Marx and Engels. Is it to these then, and to these alone, that we must address ourselves for a definition of the essential principles of Communism ? But, since these great ancestors, Communism, like every human doctrine, has lived, grown, developed, and above all differentiated itself into more or less divergent systems—which, of course, all pretend to reflect the real thought of the founders. Those who have read the life of Lenin and the story of the Russian Revolution know the violent struggles which took place between the different revolutionary parties—with the ultimate triumph of the Bolsheviks. But even amongst these how many heretics, during the past twenty years, have been put on the index, excommunicated, shot ? It is evident that Communism is still in a somewhat fluid state.

From amongst the many variants we must, therefore, pick out for study what may be called the official brand of Communism—namely Leninism or the doctrine of Marx as understood, applied and completed by Lenin. It is not the most original way of explaining Marxism ; but, from the point of view of revolutionary action, it is Marxism as interpreted and applied by Lenin which has exercised the most profound influence. We propose, therefore, to examine the German doctrine of Karl Marx as translated or transposed into Russian thought ; and to this doctrine we can assign a double source : the one philosophic, the other experimental ; but the waters from both sources are intimately mingled.

Materialism is undoubtedly the philosophic source. Engels, and after him Lenin, divided in a summary fashion all philosophers into two categories : the idealists and the materialists. " The great fundamental question of all philosophy," wrote Engels, " and especially of modern philosophy, is that of the relation of thought to being. Which is the primordial element, mind or nature ? . . . . According to their answers to this

question philosophers are divided into two great camps. Those who affirm the primordial character of mind and who, in consequence and in the last analysis, admit a creation of the world in some form or other . . . . belong to the camp of idealism. The others, who consider nature to be the primordial element, belong to different schools of materialism."[1] And as Marx added, for the materialists " thought is nothing more than the material world transposed and translated into the human brain."[2]

There is, therefore, no middle course: you must choose to be an idealist or a materialist; and Marx has dogmatically ranged himself on the side of the materialists—and after him all his disciples, in particular Lenin, who has proclaimed the necessary dependence between Communism and Materialism. Moreover, he will go so far as to say that idealism is the bourgeois conception of the world, the conception imposed on the bourgeois conscience by its social condition; while, on the contrary, the true proletarian is necessarily a materialist. Lenin admits with Feuerbach that " our conscience and our thought are the products of a material organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of the mind; it is the mind which is the most eminent product of matter." Therefore no existence is required before that of matter—nor above it.

Surpassing the materialist philosophers of the eighteenth century in his gratuitous assumptions, Engels endows matter with a precious property—namely, motion: " Motion is the mode of existence, the manner of being of matter. Never and nowhere has there been or can there be matter without motion . . . . Matter without motion is quite as inconceivable as motion without matter."[3] But then comes the difficulty of formulating the laws of this motion or movement of matter, and, strange to say, it is to an idealist that Marx addresses himself for a solution. He contents himself with applying to matter the dialectic which Hegel had made the rule of life of ideas. For Hegel every idea passes through three

[1] *Ludwig Feuerbach et la Fin de la Philosophie classique allemande*, p. 20.
[2] *Le Capital*, I, p. xxv. (Edition Costes, Paris, 1924).
[3] *M. E. Duehring bouleverse la Science*, I, p. 74. (Edition Costes, 1931).

phases: thesis (position), antithesis (opposition), synthesis (composition). Now, for Marx this evolutionary doctrine of Hegel gives the general laws of motion for the external world as well as for human thought. Everything, even human nature, evolves; so that we cannot speak of such a thing as divine or natural law. Everything evolves—the external world, thought, conscience—a ceaseless process of change to which the most stable are no less subject than the most evanescent.

But this evolution is not in a straight line nor without shocks. On the contrary, there is in matter itself, in its motion, a principle of contradiction. The evolution, therefore, takes place somewhat in the form of a spiral—by ebb and flow, by jumps, jerks, catastrophes, revolutions, by "transformation of quantity into quality," which simply means that changes in the quantity can in certain cases modify the nature of things. Everywhere struggles and unheavals are the order of the day according to the grandiose conception of Hegel—thesis, antithesis, synthesis.[1]

This philosophic doctrine has quite naturally its extension or application in the social sphere, and Marx and Lenin do not fail to exploit it. What, for Marx, strictly determine the complex of social life, taken in the broadest sense of the word (political, religious, juridical . . . . life), are the conditions of the material life—or what he calls the economic structure of society; and this economic structure itself necessarily depends on the technique of production. Therefore, in the last analysis, the actual state of the material productive forces determines the framework of the social life, and every economic evolution will have as fatal consequence a corresponding social evolution. Marx sums up this doctrine in a striking manner: "In changing their method of production, men change all their social relations. The windmill will give you the society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill will give you the society with the industrial capitalist."

We have now the great principle of Marxism: the evolu-

[1] Cf. Lenin: *Karl Marx et sa Doctrine*, p.19.

tion of society is determined by the evolution of the economic conditions, and the evolution of the economic conditions is effected according to the Hegelian dialectic of thesis, antithesis, synthesis. It remains for us to apply this principle to present conditions.

For Marx the history of all societies up to our day "has been nothing more than the history of the struggles of the classes." In our day this struggle assumes a special character from the fact that the classes at war are reduced practically to two, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the former subjecting the latter to a systematic exploitation—systematic because it flows necessarily from the modern economic or capitalist régime. According to Marx's theory of value and plus-value, in a capitalist society the worker never receives more than a bare subsistence wage, although he has furnished work of a higher value. The difference between this value and the wage paid constitutes the plus-value, which the employer or capitalist pockets. Thus the capitalist system sets two classes in opposition—the one living in luxury at the expense of the other, who are always in poverty and misery.

This capitalist society, unjust in its very principles, must therefore be destroyed. And to the proletarian who asks if that is possible, the prophet replies by writing on the wall a new *Mane, Thecel, Phares*: "This capitalist society bears within it internal contradictions which, according to the law of Historical Materialism, will sooner or later bring about its ruin."

The most fundamental of these contradictions is described somewhat as follows by Marx. At an epoch when the technique of production requires collective work, requires multitudes of men to assemble in huge factories, one cannot understand why, corresponding to such collective production, there is not also collective ownership of the means of production. The evolution of the technique of production—so Historical Materialism assures us—ought sooner or later to bring about this collectivization of the means of production. In front of a proletariat more and more numerous stands a bourgeoisie less and less numerous—diminishing in proportion as wealth

becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands and continuing to diminish as a fatal consequence of the unbridled competition which the capitalist régime engenders and which it seeks to remedy by economic dictatorships. But, besides unbridled competition and economic dictatorships, the capitalist system engenders another evil : more or less every ten years terrible crises shake the capitalist system with shocks each more violent than its predecessor, but all testifying to the maladjustment that exists between production and the purchasing power of the working classes. The day must come when the proletariat, at last marshalled under bold and ardent leaders, will expropriate without difficulty the few capitalists who have concentrated in their hands the wealth of the world —thus abolishing once for all the private ownership of the means of production.

The Marxian millennium has come : to a society divided into classes will succeed a society without classes, in which all men will enjoy perfect happiness. As Berdiaeff has written : " Marx is a pessimist as regards the past, which he paints in the most sombre colours ; but he is an optimist as regards the future, which appears to him bathed in perpetual sunshine . . . . In the past—necessity, economic determinism ; in the future—liberty, victory of reason over the irrational, over the elemental forces of nature and of society."[1]

Why should this radical transformation prove to be so happy ? Why should the history of the future not continue to unroll itself according to the painful process of the Hegelian dialectic ? Simply because the proletariat will have wrought the redemption of humanity. All the classes which have so far dominated society have committed the sin of exploiting the other classes. The proletariat, on the contrary, innocent of this sin but always its victim, will establish the reign of perfect justice and will for ever redeem mankind from the sin of exploitation. Beautiful dream—dream of a classless and propertyless society working under the benign Dictatorship of the Proletariat for the common good, dream of humanity happy with the happiness of the bee or the ant !

[1] *Le Problème du Communisme*, p. 20.

## THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF COMMUNISM

It seems strange to apply the word " religious " to a system essentially atheistic. There is, of course, no doubt that Communism denies the existence of God; and it cannot do otherwise, since this denial is a necessary consequence of its materialistic philosophy. No spiritual power, in the true sense of the word, can exist; for matter is primordial, the alpha and omega, the beginning and end of all things—even of God. It is man—wholly material, though specially organized and evolved—who creates God.

Nevertheless, Communism is undoubtedly a religion, but a religion without God, an atheistic religion. The truth is that man cannot do without a divinity of some kind. If he is deprived of the true God, he very quickly replaces Him by some idol. The Communists have not been blind to this characteristic, this inborn need of human nature.

The new divinity before whom the Communists prostrate themselves is none other than the proletariat—or, if you prefer, the socialist society. Just as the Christian, who knows that he has been created by God and for God, makes God the centre of his life, so the convinced Communist lives only for the proletariat. All his thoughts, all his actions, all his time are dedicated to the sacred cause of the society in which he is enrolled; his Communism impregnates his whole life, directs all his steps, settles the morality of all his acts.

Communism has, therefore, the two essential characters of all religion: a dogma and a moral code.

The dogma comprises the doctrines revealed by Marx and Lenin and already described. An act of faith in these doctrines in required of every Communist—an act of faith in a very fragile credo, it must be confessed, too fragile to allow free thought or free speech in regard to its content. But the thoughts of Communists are skilfully directed from the fragility of the credo to the greatness of its prophet or messiah, Lenin, who in Bolshevist history plays a role analogous to that of Christ in the Christian Revelation. When Lenin died in 1924, his crafty disciples immediately proceeded to

deify him and to organize his cult. We know what veneration surrounds his imposing tomb in the Red Square of Moscow.

If the prophet is dead and gone, he has bequeathed to his believers a definite revelation, which is contained in sacred books—in the works of Marx, of Engels, and of Lenin himself. And in order to ensure the faithful transmission of this revelation, there is in the Kremlin a high-priest and a sanhedrim entrusted with this delicate task. They are the official and infallible interpreters of Marxism and Leninism. When they make a solemn pronouncement of a dogmatic character, no Communist dare dispute their word—unless he is prepared to suffer excommunication, exile, or even death.

So much for communist dogma. The communist moral code is a very simple affair—at least in its formal principles, since the supreme universal good is the socialist society. The moral value of an act, therefore, is measured by its utility in the establishment and development of this society. Whatever promotes the interests of the proletariat, that is moral. In the actual state of things, to use the expression of Jaroslawski, "whatever serves the revolutionary proletariat in the class war, that is good."[1]

For the Communist, therefore, perfection will consist in the consecration of his whole being to the communist ideal and to communist action. His religion may demand any sacrifice, and for this he must be prepared at all times: "If any man will follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." In his heart no affection should take precedence of the passion with which he burns for the proletarian cause: "If any one loves father, mother, brothers or sisters more than me, he is not worthy of me." No other authority should have control over his soul: "No one can serve two masters."

This religion must naturally oppose all other religions; and it must oppose them with all the greater violence, as they are the most powerful obstacles to the establishment of Communism.

And yet, at first sight, this attitude of active hostility

[1] Quoted by Gurian in *Le Bolchevisme*, p. 218.

seems somewhat strange and illogical. For the Marxist religion has its source in matter, in the material and economic structure of society, of which it is but a necessary and as it were a mechanical reflection. "In the capitalist countries," says Lenin, "the roots of religion are above all social . . . . 'Fear created the gods' Fear before the blind power of capital—there is the root of religion to-day."[1] It would seem, then, that Marxism, apart from its anti-religious materialism, ought to consider all religions with indifference; for does not Historical Materialism guarantee that the evolution which will sooner or later drag down the present economic régime, will at the same time entail the ruin of religion—seeing that religion is but a superstructure of this régime? Why, then, engage in combat against beliefs whose disappearance is mathematically certain?

Yes, but the difficulty for Marxism is that religion in itself is an obstacle to the establishment of the socialist society. The workers will not become really revolutionary as long as they hold any religious beliefs; for religion teaches them resignation, submission to authority, love of neighbour, forgiveness even of their great enemy, the bourgeois exploiter. In a word, religion demands the loyal collaboration of all social classes, whereas the interests of the proletariat demand on the contrary the class war. It is in this sense that Marx has declared religion to be "the opium of the people"—a veritable narcotic used by the capitalist exploiters to dull the combative spirit of the workers. "This formula," writes Lenin, "constitutes the corner stone of the whole Marxist philosophy in the question of religion. Marxism considers all religions and all contemporary churches—every form of religious organization—as instruments of bourgeois reaction destined to demoralize the working classes and to perpetuate their exploitation."[2]

Marxism or Communism, therefore, singles out for attack two enemies which, in its estimation, are closely allied—namely, religion and capitalism. But the attack on religion is secondary, being conducted solely because it is indispensable

[1] *Pages choisies de Lénine*, p. 312-313. [2] Op. cit., p. 307.

to the rapid success of the attack on capitalism ; the religious war is subordinated to the class war. " The Marxist," says Lenin, " will not conduct the anti-religious campaign in the abstract, on the plane of pure and immutable theory, but on the plane of the class war, which is a reality."[1] Hence the attitude of Communists towards religion may vary considerably according to circumstances of time and place. To-day they will hold out the hand of fellowship, because the war on religion would compromise the class war or would be fatal to the infiltration of Marxist ideas. To-morrow they will throw off the mask and launch a violent campaign against religion—confining the campaign, however, to this or that country as dictated by their opportunist principles, for they have no difficulty in fighting religion in one country while courting friendly relations with it in another. We must not, therefore, be deceived by their present efforts to gather all workers—Catholics included—into a common alliance, a Popular Front, against the so-called common enemy, Fascism. All this is according to plan—carefully elaborated in Moscow.

At times Communism may preach toleration of religion, freedom of conscience, rights of the individual—but only for tactical reasons. Communism, by its very essence, must be tyrannical ; for with Communism God and Caesar are one. The final end of man is the triumph of the proletariat ; whatever contributes to this end is right, whatever does not is wrong. And who is to be the ultimate judge of this right and wrong ? Stalin, as we have seen in the heresy-hunts against Trotsky and his supposed fellow-conspirators. Stalin is the infallible judge of correct Communism ; his *ipse dixit* settles all questions of doctrine and morals. If you are not prepared to accept his ruling, you must be prepared to face the firing squad—with Zinovieff, Kameneff and the others.

Some 150 years ago a storm swept over the world, carrying on its wings the exultant cry of democracy, the " Rights of Man." It was then believed that human nature, in spite of accidental diversities in time and place, had a fundamental

[1] Op. cit., p. 315.

dignity, an immutable value, and that consequently it was endowed with inviolable rights. " Pious illusion " protest the Communists; man, like the rest of nature, is subject to the inexorable laws of evolution; legislation can take no account of his imaginary rights; the individual is for the State, not the State for the individual. The latter has no duty to himself; his sole duty is to the collectivity, to the proletariat, whose ultimate triumph and happiness he must seek to achieve in every way. No doubt, as a cog or wheel in the giant machine he may share in the ultimate triumph and happiness—" in that far off, divine event . . . ." But he may also get broken and scrapped, as has already happened to so many millions. What then? Well, he will have the consolation, the profound joy, of having been sacrificed on the altar of his god, the proletariat.

So much for the individual in the communist society. What about the family, which for Catholics is the social unit? In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels violently condemned what they called the " bourgeois " family. For them the present monogamous marriage is but a stage in the economic evolution, a natural consequence of the existing economic organization—especially of private property and the right of inheritance. The Russians likewise, at the beginning of their Revolution and for many years after, followed Marx slavishly in their campaign against the " bourgeois " family and " bourgeois " morality. They made every effort to destroy the institution on which the Christian world has been built, the institution of the Christian family. But *naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret;* you may destroy human beings, but you cannot destroy human nature. It will reassert itself in the end and conquer—even the most brutal tyranny. And this is what is happening to-day in Russia; the legislator finds himself forced to turn back and to cancel former legislation on divorce and abortion. Russia, in fact, is on the road to reestablishing what it so violently denounced as the " bourgeois " family. It is learning the lesson that eternal realities cannot be despised with impunity.

## Methods of Communist Propaganda

There are religions without dynamic force, without power of expansion or radiation; and the absence of this spirit of conquest proves them to be false and explains why they have so little influence on souls. There are other religions, on the contrary, which never cease to inspire, rally and send forth legions of apostles, who labour with heroic zeal to gather all men into one faith and into one fold. In the front rank of the latter is, of course, Christianity, which would cease to be itself the day it lost the ambition to bring to the foot of the Cross all those for whom Christ died.

Communism also belongs to this second category. Indeed, one can say that it is endowed with a power of expansion which sometimes recalls the early days of Christianity. Its first fathers, Marx and Engels, had all the zeal and character of prophets preaching a new crusade. Communism, however, had little success before 1917, when the Russian Revolution suddenly made it a world force—" la mystique du prolétariat avait rencontré le messianisme du peuple russe." Russia has always felt herself called to a high mission, the mission of communicating to the world some great religious truth. But this messianic dream did not take concrete shape until, in 1917, the Messiah himself in the person of Lenin appeared. When this new saviour stepped on the stage, he announced that he had come with a new gospel of salvation, with a new message of peace and goodwill. The Soviet State was established, and the Soviet State felt that it had a sacred mission to spread the new gospel not only in Russia but throughout the world. How did it proceed to carry out this mission?

Marx was more occupied with the abstract theory of Communism than with its immediate realization. He worked out no elaborate technique of revolution, as his successors have done, because he saw no necessity to do so. Capitalism, of course, had to be destroyed; but in his time Marx saw no immediate signs of dissolution and he was satisfied to let the laws of dialectic evolution run their course. But Lenin found himself in quite different circumstances. The fatal

hour for the destruction of capitalism—at least in Russia—had struck. On Lenin, therefore, devolved the duty and the honour of fixing the methods of action of Communism, and this he did with brutal precision—and with brutal consequences.

Lenin, like Marx, believed that the laws of history would ultimately bring about the fall of capitalism; but he did not believe in watching patiently the slow operation of these laws; he believed in the possibility and desirability of accelerating their movement. In this he was quite logical and in full accord with Marx's theory of Historical Materialism. Nature undertakes to make the fruits ripen and to make the animals increase and fatten; but that does not prevent the gardener and the farmer from helping nature to quicker and better results by the application of scientific methods. In the same way the workers would be wrong not to hasten the liberation of their class by the application of all the forces which can contribute to this end. At any rate, Lenin did not hesitate to exploit all the forces at his disposal. On 24 October 1917, just before unleashing the Russian Revolution, he wrote: "It is clear that now any delay in the insurrection means its death-blow. History will not pardon a delay on the part of the revolutionaries who can conquer (and shall certainly conquer) to-day, but who risk to lose all if they wait until to-morrow."[1] The hour had struck for Lenin, and he acted with lightning speed—but also with a ruthlessness for which history will not pardon him, in spite of his present apotheosis in Russia.

If you ask what point of the globe is most favourable for a proletarian revolution, Lenin answers that you must choose the country of least resistance. That does not necessarily mean the most highly industrialized, but the country which presents certain conditions favourable to ultimate success—for example, the close association of the proletariat with other discontented classes, such as the peasant class. And that is what happened in Russia. Another condition is equally necessary, Stalin tells us: "When 'those below' no longer wish to live and 'those above' no longer can live

[1] Quoted by L. Barde: *La Menace du Communisme.*

in the old way, it is only then that the revolution can triumph."[1] The proletarian revolution will, therefore, be attempted especially during great economic or political crises; and the working classes of the different capitalist countries must always be on the *qui vive*, always ready to launch the revolution when the circumstances are propitious, when the desired occasion presents itself. There are hours which strike only once in the history of a country. It is for the workers to be watching for this hour—waiting ready to lift the sluice-gates and let go the pent-up waters of revolution.

Triumphant in one country, the revolution will continue its victorious march into others. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, once established in any country, has a duty to the proletariats of all other countries, the duty of rousing and helping them to win the same fruits of victory. "Aussi la révolution du pays victorieux," says Stalin, "ne doit-elle pas se considérer comme une grandeur se suffisant à elle-même, mais comme une auxiliaire, comme un moyen d'accélérer la victoire du prolétariat dans les autres pays."[2] There must be no rest, no peace, no selfish enjoyment of local victories, until the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established in every country. Then will break the long-awaited dawn of a new world—of that Marxian Paradise in which abundance and happiness for all will reign.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the reader may well put the anxious question: If such is Communism, if such is its dynamic power, what is to be the attitude of Catholics towards it, what is to be the line of attack or the line of defence? Everybody is agreed, it seems, that an attitude of negative opposition will help little to stop the progress of Communism. Christianity was not established by negative methods and it will not be saved by negative methods. If Communism attracts the masses, it is not by its philosophic and economic doctrines. The general public worries little about dialectical

[1] *Des Principes du Léninisme*, p. 31. [2] *Des Principes du Léninisme*, p. 42.

materialism, plus-values, and other Marxian vagaries. What moves it is the picture—alas, only too true—of a small minority enjoying every comfort, while the vast majority toil and suffer and die in inhuman conditions. Though the wealth of the world and the means of producing it are increasing at a prodigious rate, the plight of the workers is no better. At least that is what the Communists preach, and that is what they profess to remedy if they are given the necessary political power. " Etaler sur l'humanité entière les bienfaits collectifs de la nature et du progrès " is the proud boast of Thorez, leader of the French Communists.

It is, of course, very easy to make large promises and to hypnotize the hunger-famished with the myth of a future paradise. And it may be equally easy for you to prove—to your own satisfaction—that the promises cannot be realized, that the paradise cannot be created, that in the light of philosophy and economics the whole is an empty dream. But that line of attack is negative and will not carry you far. The obvious answer of the workers is : " Well, if the promises of the Communists are empty, if their paradise is a myth, what have you to offer us ? You must admit that our history through the ages has been a history of exploitation, that we have never received our just share of the world's goods. What has Christianity done to remedy this crying injustice ? " It cannot be denied that the workers are not receiving their just share of this world's goods, and no one has confessed this more clearly than Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum* and Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*. And what is better, these two great Popes have not confined themselves to a mere sterile confession of the evil ; they have set down a lucid programme for its remedy. But how many Catholic employers have made a serious study of these encyclicals and, above all, how many have made a serious effort to put their teaching into practice ? As Berdiaeff puts it well, Communism " est le témoinage du devoir non rempli, de la tâche inachevée du christianisme."[1] We must make ourselves more authentic, more sincere witnesses of our faith.

J. VILLAIN

[1] *Problème du Communisme*, p. 10.

# THE RUSSIAN UPHEAVALS AND THE COMMUNIST CRISIS

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.
University College, Dublin

COMMUNISTS have inherited from their founder, Marx, a rather naive sense of their own uniqueness. Just as Marx was the first to discover the " laws " which make revolution at once inevitable and desirable, so revolution, when operated by true believers, differs entirely from every phenomenon of the kind in the past. Recent events in Russia, from the execution of the " Sixteen " in August, 1936, to the execution of the " Thirteen " on 1st February, 1937, would seem to indicate that history is having its revenge in its accustomed way—by repeating itself. It has taken the Russian revolution very much longer to go through the same phases as the French. The difference is probably due simply to the fact that the divisions of the Western powers have kept them from interfering to any degree with the course of events in Russia, whereas the invasions of France played a decisive part in speeding up the rhythm of a development there which in any case was bound to occur.

It is never, of course, possible to equate exactly even the most closely similar historical movements. Our speculations as to the French prototype of Stalin will depend largely on our sympathies. For some he will be the Bonaparte of Russia, ushering in a period of glory and expansion. For his great antagonist, Trotsky—who last year published his opinion of him and his works in a lengthy volume[1]—this all-powerful Georgian, ruling with untrammelled authority over a sixth of the globe, is a mere Barras, a representative of " Thermidorian reaction," the mouthpiece of a bureaucracy which has almost literally murdered the old Bolshevik party, put a brake on

[1] *La Révolution Trahie.* Par Léon Trotski. Traduit du russe par Victor Serge. Paris: Grasset. 1936. 18 fr.

progress towards perfect communism, and strangled Russia under a totalitarian tyranny. The recent trials and their sequels have indeed revealed the fact that a second revolution has supervened upon the first. All the old guard who were with Lenin in exile and during the great days of October, 1917, are either banished, imprisoned, or dead—many at the hands of their former associates and subordinates; not a few, such as Joffe and Tomsky, at their own. Trotsky has been out of power since 1923 and in exile since 1928. Zinoviev, whose very name once turned the scales in an English general election; Kamenev, who was first president of the Soviet Executive in 1917 and Lenin's executor; Piatakov, once Commissar for Heavy Industries and one of the conquerors of the Ukraine after 1917; Muralov, once Commissar for Agriculture and a renowned hero of the civil war—all have been shot, in some cases after the most fantastically humiliating confessions. Rykov, Rakovsky, and Bukharin are awaiting their trial with many others. Karl Radek, the Polish Jew who first made himself notorious as Bolshevik minister in Berlin, and afterwards became the chief Soviet press propagandist, has been relegated to a nameless imprisonment. Even Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, is held in odium by her husband's successors, and has declared that if he had lived he too would long since have been imprisoned.

The fantastic charges of counter-revolutionary plotting made against Stalin's victims are incredible even to the casual reader of the newspapers, and cannot stand such detailed examination as is possible in the peculiar circumstances. Russia is to-day an even more mysterious country than it was under the Czars. The elaborate machinery of the mass treason trials, with its accompaniment of carefully drilled " popular " indignation and demands for the extreme penalty, is more unreal than any melodrama. Only small selected batches from among the enormous total of arrested persons are ever brought into the public court. The confessions, sensationally abject, made by some among these veteran revolutionaries, whose whole lives have been passed in an atmosphere of fervid plotting and counter-plotting, are entirely unrelated to reality.

When Victor Serge, one of the Trotskyist exiles, declares that such avowals only deceive Westerners who are unfamiliar with Russia, he is obviously saying what is just. It must be remembered that all these men belong to the one revolutionary party, to which they have been attached by a kind of fanatical religious fervour, and that the outside public is almost entirely ignorant of the party's internal divisions and doctrinal struggles. The only valuable parallels to their confessions are to be found in the revelations of witches in seventeenth century England or America about their commerce with the devil, or in the incessant changes of adhesion, sometimes accompanied by the most extravagantly contradictory manifestations of zeal, that marked the period of the Counter-Reformation in France and Germany. The Western mind has grown unaccustomed to fanaticism, and the shocks recently administered to it by Russia are only the first stirrings of a force disastrously revived.

Apart entirely from the periodical explosions which indicate that Marx's scientific dialectic is not working smoothly in Russia, there are many other signs of strain and uncertainty in the communist world. Spain seems to be experiencing a repetition of the same calamitous defeats that have overcome communism in Italy, Hungary, Germany, Poland, and China, with the significant difference that now there are two warring communist parties in the field instead of one under maladroit leadership. Since his expulsion from Russia, Trotsky, who, it must be remembered, is only three or four years older than Stalin, has abandoned the third International and founded a fourth on purer Marxist lines. Its Spanish representative is the P.O.U.M. (Partido Obrera de Unificación Marxista) of Barcelona. The first leader of the P.O.U.M., Joaquin Maurin, was killed early in the civil war, and his successor, Andrés Nin, has recently been expelled from the ruling coalition, his paper suppressed, and his followers reduced to inactivity by the all-powerful agents in Spain of Stalin and the Comintern. The entry of Russia into the League of Nations, vexatious as have been its effects on the politics of " capitalist " countries, has been no less a source of far-reaching disturbance in communist

ranks. In the enthusiasm of " liberal " sympathisers to admire the tactics of Litvinov, it has been almost completely forgotten that rigid non-co-operation with the League, as an imperialist institution, was one of the most prominent marks of Lenin's policy.

The same applies in an equal degree to the tactics of the " popular front " initiated by the Bulgarian communist Dimitrov, whose record in his own country, incidentally, was one of dismal failure, and who was only rescued from oblivion by the attentions of Hitler. Co-operation with bourgeois parties, even with the Social Democrats who might be described as first cousins of the communists, was anathema to Lenin ; and it is beyond question that in this, as in every other respect, Lenin was the faithful disciple of Marx. The results of the " popular front " manoeuvre in France have been anything but gratifying to Marxists of stricter observance. They have seen leaders like Cachin and Thorez execute a sharp curve on questions of central importance such as national defence, again in violation of the fundamental law which branded all wars waged by bourgeois governments as imperialistic. More than this, they have seen such manifestations of what Trotsky calls " cynicism " as the attempt to bring about a kind of entente between the French communist party and the powerful Catholic Workers' Youth Movement (J.O.C.), culminating in the offer of a public apology to the Bishop of Versailles for outrages committed during a meeting in his diocese. All these developments indicate a very curious new turn in the history of Marxism—a phase in which, as a French observer puts it, the tactics of the party run counter to its doctrine. No one would be more utterly revolted by this than Marx himself whose guiding principle was the unity of thought and action. It is needless to say that such Machiavellianism gives not the least assurance of any real change of heart. Nevertheless it is a definite sign of weakness—the disintegration of a system which owed much of its appeal to its rigid consistency.

Trotsky's polemic against the betrayal of the revolution is reinforced by many recent books and articles written from different standpoints. The English labour leader Sir Walter

Citrine, the American communist Andrew Smith, who actually worked for three years in Russia and left it disillusioned, and such dissimilar writers as Miss E. M. Delafield and M. André Gide, have all borne witness to the backwardness, dirt, and often indescribable discomfort of the conditions endured by the ordinary Russian worker. The growing distinction between the worker and the new privileged classes is marked, whether implicitly or explicitly, by every observer. As regards overcrowding and the lack of sanitation, the Bolshevik régime seems indeed to have intensified what Marx and Engels called " the idiocy of country life " by merely concentrating the mujik into urban and rural barracks without any greater amenities than he enjoyed in his isolation. Enthusiastic reports now and again published about cultural parks and the advantages of communal cookery or *crèches* are discounted by the very small proportion of such facilities to the enormous Russian population, and by the fact that only the privileged are in a position to enjoy them.

M. André Gide's *Retour de l'U.R.S.S.*[1] has naturally aroused very great interest in view of his reputation as a writer. It must be said that as a work of literature it is disappointing, and that Gide's very peculiar personal standpoint largely vitiates his criticism of what he saw. A post-romantic enthusiast for every kind of anarchy, recently described as " the most complicated apostate of our age," he typifies the incoherence of the present day, which so often sees the enemies of culture as its defenders. It was precisely as chairman of an " international conference for the defence of culture," then sitting in London, that he paid his sudden visit to Moscow for the funeral of Maxim Gorky in the June of last year. His first disillusionment came when his address, delivered in the Red Square, was censored because of an ingenuous remark it contained : " Aujourd'hui, en U.R.S.S., en étant révolutionnaire, l'écrivain n'est plus un opposant." Another address, delivered in July to the writers of Leningrad, was likewise criticised, and the enthusiast for revolt began to discover that he had in fact come to the wrong place. Revolt, as Trotsky

[1] Paris : Gallimard (*Nouvelle Revue Française*). 1936. 6 fr.

and his friends can explain, is no longer fashionable, or even tolerable, in Russia. Thus Gide's rather naive delight in culture-parks, sanatoria, and the priggish self-satisfaction of communist children, was tinged from the beginning with doubt. He found that what is nowadays prized is not liberty but "conformism," and worse still, that the fiction of revolution is maintained for propagandist purposes when the reality is past. Sometimes his criticisms almost coincide with those of Trotsky, as for instance in the matter of the recent tendency to discourage the "right to abortion," which he finds unjust to the poor. In the case of the "anti-marxist" laws against other vices he goes further in his objections than Trotsky himself. Like the old guard of Bolshevism, he is dismayed by the extravagant adulation of Stalin, the ignorance of the outer world, and the general spiritual enslavement, which he thinks worse even than that of Nazi Germany, and to which may be attributed the backwardness both in artistic taste and in the quality of manufactured articles—especially those intended for popular consumption.

It is impossible to read Trotsky's rather verbose indictment of his supplanters without a certain sympathy. The crimes committed during the revolution of 1917-1921 have been bitterly expiated by most of those who participated in them. A study of Trotsky's views is essential for the understanding of what is happening to-day in every sphere of communist activity. Few readers will be aware of the real succession of events in the long process which has culminated on the one hand in the separation of doctrine from tactics and on the other in the fourth International. The essential difference between the two factions may be summed up by saying that Stalin believes in the possibility of achieving communism in one country, whereas Trotsky insists that pursuance of this aim without international revolution will lead to the return of capitalism. This difference made itself felt almost as soon as Lenin was dead. It lead almost at once to the extrusion of Trotsky, whose criticism has therefore free play in regard to everything that has happened since the commencement of the Five Year Plan in 1927. Trotsky and his associates occupied from the first

the extreme revolutionary position. They looked with disquiet on Lenin's " new economic policy," which ruled from 1921 to 1927 and which allowed a considerable degree of private trading. In their view, the combination of the civil war, the backwardness of Russian economy, and the spectacular failure of attempts at revolution from Germany to China, made inevitable the development of a powerful bureaucracy in Russia, which has ended by creating a totalitarian state of the most oppressive type.

The realities of to-day are strikingly different from the hopes of the old guard of fifteen years ago. They expected, with Lenin, to see the rapid disappearance of the state and the growth of a free democracy expressing itself through the soviets as appropriate communist organs. The suppression of party divisions, the loss of freedom of criticism, and the establishment of the " general line " to which all must adhere, represent for them so many crushing defeats for their ideal. Dictatorship of the proletariat, the essential preliminary to the arrival of communism, did not mean to them the iron rule of one party, and still less that of one man. In many ways, Trotsky thinks, the methods of Nazi Germany were actually learned from the unfortunate turn taken by Stalinist Russia as early as 1925 or 1928. As things now stand, with the old Bolshevik party broken and a monstrous bureaucratic tyranny set up in its place, the only hope for the survival of communism in Russia and the consolidation of what they regard as the real " gains " of the October revolution, is a successful revolution elsewhere. This in turn is made less likely by the widespread influence of the Comintern with its " popular fronts " and by Stalin's alliance with capitalist powers. The whole fate of international Marxism is in the balance, and in many ways its partial success in Russia has become rather a hindrance than a help. Trotsky's bitterest pages are reserved for the new constitution with its secret elections and popular assemblies on the totalitarian model. The secret ballot is hateful enough, but its manipulation by the all-powerful bureaucracy is the ultimate tragic farce. Finally, the soviets, which were the proudest revolutionary institutions, have already become

simple registration-machines ; under the new system they will disappear in all but the name of the State.

It is scarcely possible here to do justice to Trotsky's thorough examination of Russian politics and economics in all their aspects. That his measuring-rod is the most rigid Marxist theory goes without saying ; but his own naive beliefs in the efficacy of the dialectic and the inevitable decay of capitalist society do not lessen much of the force of his charges. What remains, when all is said, is that history has so far stubbornly refused to run in the Marxist mould. It is pathetic to see how this veteran continues to talk in the old formulas about the Russian " revolutionary masses " and to read his confession that the world-proletariat " has failed in the role assigned to it by history." It is clear enough by now that the Russian masses have been the victims rather than the leaders at any point of a crazy revolutionary adventure, and that if the world-proletariat has failed, it is because its " task " was assigned to it, not by history, but by the megalomania of a romantic German Jew. Marxism has proved the most costly of all nineteenth century illusions, and its full price is yet far from being paid.

The present rulers of Russia are, of course, by no means conscious heretics. In all probability they sincerely believe that their policy provides the only means of realising Marx's ideals. Like the rationalist doctrinaires of revolutionary France, they have been swept along by forces altogether beyond their control. They will continue their efforts to compel events into conformity with doctrine until the transformation now in process has become too obvious to be denied. Nothing is more striking in recent years than the revival of Russian nationalism, which has greatly developed since Stalin first used the word " Fatherland " in his telegram to the rescued members of the *Chelyushkin* polar expedition in 1934. With it has gone a portentous increase in the expenditure for military purposes. Trotsky has noted that even under the Five Year Plan, just as in Nazi Germany, armament and munition factories helped greatly in the general industrial expansion ; and their output, as well as the strength of the

forces, has since then been many times increased. As pure communist doctrine has receded into the background, with the permission of limited property, the introduction of steeply-graded piece-rates, the growth of "rationalisation" in the form of the Stakhanovist movement, and above all the sharp separation between ruling class and people, patriotism and the military spirit have been proportionately emphasised. The honours paid to the embalmed Lenin are now insignificant beside the fulsome adulation with which Stalin is constantly greeted. He is "the father of peoples," "the sun of the workers"; his greatness, in the words of an Ukranian poet, makes an aureole for the stars in the firmament, for men, and for factories. He is the wisest and most beloved of fathers, who lights the ways of his people as a lighthouse the fishers on the sea. Poets, journalists, orators surround him with unceasing flattery, all of it naturally organised, directed, and paid for. The rhythm of Russian life is guided by his banal slogans: "Life is splendid!" "Let us be prosperous!" "Life is becoming more beautiful and enjoyable every day!" It almost seems as if an autocratic Coué had usurped the place of the triumphant proletariat.

Far-reaching as have been the effects of the revolution and incredible the sufferings it has brought upon an unfortunate people, we may doubt whether it will prove to have made any lasting change in the Russian character. The French analogy inclines us to see in the new enthusiasm for the communist fatherland a preparatory stage to an outbreak of triumphant militarism. If Stalin should be superseded by an able soldier the danger to Europe from a Russia in which revolutionary fervour could be disciplined to military purposes would be as great as the danger from communism itself. The Western powers, incurably divided as they are, might make but a feeble resistance to the new Muscovite imperialism. It may be that the nightmare of the nineteenth century will become a reality in the twentieth. On the other hand, it must be remembered that Russia is not France, and that there is no real analogy between the most warlike nation in the world and the hapless victims of ever-recurring tyranny. MICHAEL TIERNEY

# ARCHBISHOP FITZRALPH AND THE FRIARS

BY REV. AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.
Lecturer in History, University College, Dublin

IN our study of Archbishop FitzRalph's diocesan activity in Ireland during the years 1352-56, we have seen that he became involved in a bitter dispute with the Franciscans of Dundalk and Drogheda, mainly over the question of jurisdiction and absolution from the sentences of excommunication which he had pronounced. His visit to London was to mark a new era in the long story of anti-mendicant controversy, but it seems fairly certain that FitzRalph did not know that he was about to be plunged into the most stormy controversy of his whole career. His own story, as told in presence of Pope Innocent VI and a full Consistory of Cardinals on November 8, 1357, is as follows : " Lo, Holy Father, I came to London on business connected with my church of Armagh, and I found some learned doctors disputing with one another about the state of mendicant poverty, and the poverty of Our Lord and Saviour. And I was often invited to preach to the people, and I did there deliver seven or eight sermons in the vulgar tongue." This story is confirmed by a document which has recently been discovered by Mr. W. A. Pantin, of Oriel College, in the Public Record Office of London.[1] This is a draft or " bill " that was submitted to the provincial council of Canterbury, which met at St. Paul's, London, on May 16, 1356. No mention of this bill of complaints is to be found in the short *Acta* of this council which have been published by Wilkins in his Concilia (III, pp. 38-9) ; but its authenticity is unquestionable. It is drawn up in the name of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, and is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, *contra fratres mendicantes*. Its complaints may be briefly summarised here.

[1] The reference-mark is P.R.O., D.L. 42/8, fol. 79 v—80 r. I owe my knowledge of this document entirely to the kindness of Mr. Pantin, who has allowed me to copy it from his notes.

The friars have given free rein to their questing and begging; they ride round the country on fine palfreys, with splendid equipment, *ultra morem maiorum prelatorum in Anglia;* they have no respect for the canons and censures of the province of Canterbury, but are slanderers of the clergy and flatterers of the nobility (*adulatores magnatum confessores*); they meddle in marriages and secular business under the cloak of religion, and seek to gain the favour of the great; they inflict grave injury on many of the churches of England through their influence with the nobles; they abuse their powers as confessors and dispense freely from the duty of restitution; they soothe the sinner in his sin (*posito pulvillo blandiendi sub capite peccatoris quietant in peccato*). The last few lines are corrupt and difficult to translate, but the satire grows more bitter with each clause: *de bonis gravati rubentes buccas pascunt, ventres inflant, et ecclesie Anglicane in huiusmodi fomento peccati merito obiurgati intollerabiles indies parant incidias (?).* The bill ends with a demand for speedy remedies to all these abuses.

Readers of *Piers Plowman* will not need to be reminded of the close parallel that is to be found in a passage of the Prologue to the *Vision* (vv. 56-64):—

> I font there freres . all the foure ordres,
> Prechinge the peple . for profyt of heore wombes,
> Glosynge the gospel . as hem good liketh,
> For couetyse of copes . construeth hit ille.
> For mony of this maistres . mowen clothen hem at lyking,
> For moneye and heore marchaundie . meeten ofte to-gedere,
> Seththe charite hath be chapmon . and cheef to schriuen lordes.

But the mystical poet of *Piers Plowman* has a truer vision of the needs of the Church than the indignant priests of the province of Canterbury. Instead of a demand for stern measures, that would probably do no more than embitter

each party, the poet appeals for greater unity and charity in Holy Church :

> Mony ferlyes hath bi-falle . in a fewe yeres :
> But holychirche bi-ginne . holde bet to-gedere,
> The moste mischeef on molde . mounteth vp faste.

Langland's satire, it will be noticed, repeats in vernacular form some of the most bitter complaints of the Latin document : " for profyt of heore wombs " (*ventres inflant*) ; " chapmon and cheef to schriuen lordes " (*adulatores magnatum confessores*). And the complaint of the clergy that the friars are too lenient with their penitents is repeated in more dramatic form by Langland in the famous scene (Passus III, 36-54) in which " a confessour i-copet as a frere " offers to shrive the lady Meed of all her sins on condition that she pays for a window in their new church. Langland was writing his *Vision* most probably in the years 1362-63, just six or seven years after the date of this bill of complaints. It is obvious that the poet is simply reflecting here the grievances that were common talk in the neighbourhood of London at this time.

FitzRalph was thus coming to a city where criticism of the friars was rife ; and it is worth noting that Edward III, apparently at the instigation of some London clerks or citizens, had recently ordered the sheriff of London to make an inquiry into the charge that the friars were holding landed property in the city.[1] Dr. Little, who has examined the evidence in support of this charge, has come to the conclusion that " of landed endowments on any considerable scale, such as the Crutched Friars of London and the Carmelite and Austin Friars of Dublin were endeavouring to obtain (chiefly for the support of their students at the universities), there is no trace among the four mendicant orders in England." The significant fact, however, is that this royal inquiry, which was later extended to the whole kingdom, was first ordered in London, by a writ of privy seal dated October 15, 1349. Dr. Little

[1] See Dr. Little's study of this inquiry in *Historical Essays in honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 179-88.

has suggested that this inquiry " was part of the movement led by Richard FitzRalph against the mendicant friars " ; but I cannot agree with this conclusion. FitzRalph's campaign against the friars arises from the fact that he can find no warrant for mendicant poverty in the Gospels ; and he is convinced that the papal privileges granted to the friars were contrary to the good order necessary for diocesan government. Those who charged the friars with being owners of landed property on a large scale must have been men who did not like to see the friars gain wealth from their popularity with the people ; and the city of London must have been full of such envious critics. For London had four great convents of the mendicant orders ; and the convent of the Grey Friars in particular, where so many of the great lords were buried, was notable for the splendour of its church ornaments and the number of its friars. A modern scholar has given reason for believing that there were never less than one hundred Friars Minor in the London convent during the fourteenth century ; and the windows of the church were exceptionally fine.[1] Pre-Reformation documents show that most of these windows were erected in the first half of the fourteenth century, so that the church must have been at the height of its splendour when FitzRalph visited London in 1356. We know less about the other mendicant churches in London, but there is no doubt at all that the Dominican convent of Blackfriars had been heavily endowed by successive royal grants, and must have been a most imposing building.[2]

Apart from these grievances, which seem to have been most common in the city of London, there is evidence from the diocesan registers of some English bishops to prove that complaints against the friars for their indiscreet activities as confessors were being heard all over England. The most notable example is perhaps the register of Bishop John Grandisson of Exeter, the prelate who had consecrated FitzRalph Archbishop of Armagh in the summer of 1347. Grandisson was an Englishman by birth, but a Frenchman by

[1] Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (British Franc. Soc., 1915), pp. 38 and 62.
[2] Bede Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*. (London, 1921), pp. 24-43.

origin, and he had studied theology in Paris at a time when Jean de Pouilli was leading a campaign against the mendicant orders in the University of Paris. Jean de Pouilli is first heard of in 1318, when he was cited to appear before the Roman curia and defend his doctrine about the papal privileges which had been granted to the friars in the matter of hearing confessions.[1] His errors were three in number; but they were all reducible to the single proposition that the Pope himself could not give the friars a general faculty for hearing confessions, so that those parishioners who had confessed their sins to a friar were bound to confess them again to their parish priest within the year, as prescribed by the decree of the Lateran Council. These errors were condemned by John XXII in his Constitution, known as *Vas Electionis*, which was issued in July 1321, and Jean de Pouilli duly submitted and retracted his errors. But the fact that such doctrines were advocated in the University, and found considerable support among the secular clergy of France, shows the attitude of mind which prevailed among Grandisson's fellow-students. His own diocesan activity as Bishop of Exeter (1327-69) suggests an influence of this kind. One of his earliest acts as bishop was to revoke all faculties for hearing confessions in his diocese and to issue a new list of authorised confessors, whose faculties were derived from his own personal grant.[2] So far as we can judge from his register, this policy worked successfully in the diocese for the first twenty years of his episcopate; but the confusion which followed the Black Death, which was peculiarly severe in Devon and Dorset, seems to have given an opportunity for laxity in the matter of hearing confessions. Whatever the cause, Grandisson's register contains abundant evidence of increasing friction between the bishop and the friars in the years 1354 and 1355 —the very years in which FitzRalph was fighting the Franciscans in the diocese of Armagh. Once again, on February 1,

[1] See the documents printed by Denifle and Chatelain in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. II, nn. 764; 798; 799.

[2] *Grandisson's Register* (ed. Hingeston-Randolph), vol. I, p. 557; see also vol. II, p. 954, for the conditions which he imposed when granting faculties to a Dominican prior in Exeter.

1355, the bishop revokes all faculties that have been previously granted, and issues a new list of two confessors for each deanery, which is limited to the secular clergy—though there is one significant exception.[1] Even at the height of his quarrel with the friars, Grandisson found it necessary to grant faculties to two friars, a Franciscan and a Dominican, for the people of Cornwall who could only speak the Cornish language. Evidently the friars were the only priests who had troubled to learn this language or to provide confessors for the people.

Grandisson's fight with the mendicants in the diocese of Exeter was continued all through the years of FitzRalph's more famous controversy, and the friars seem to have made life difficult for him during the years 1358 and 1359, when he complains that they are appealing from his jurisdiction to *conservatores* and *sub-conservatores* of their privileges, whose authority he questions.[2] Then we hear no more of the trouble in the bishop's register, and we may take it for granted that the settlement which Innocent VI imposed in these years ended the controversy for a while. It is at first tempting to assume that Grandisson was specially hostile to the friars and that his influence on his friend FitzRalph, who spent some months in the diocese of Exeter before going to Ireland in 1348, may have been a decisive factor in the story of the next few years. But the register of a very different prelate, Bishop John Trillek of Hereford, suggests that the controversy with the friars was spread far and wide in the years 1354 and 1355. Bishop Trillek was the very type of a quiet, steady, capable bishop, who (like Grandisson himself) seldom left his diocese, and made a name for himself as a most successful administrator.[3] Trillek came to Hereford in 1344, and there is no hint of any trouble with the friars for the next ten years. But in September 1355, we find that he suddenly revokes all the faculties that had been granted in his diocese, and issues a new list of authorised confessors, excluding all members of every religious order.[4] A list of the confessors

[1] *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1128; 1143; 1144-7.
[2] *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1187–8: 1208.
[3] *Trillek's Register*, ed. J. W. Parry (Canterbury and York Soc., 1912).
[4] *ibid.*, p. 232. The list of confessors is given on p. 20.

whose faculties were thus withdrawn has been preserved in his register, and we find that, whilst the Dominicans had been steadily admitted as confessors, one or two at a time over a long period, no less than eleven Franciscans were admitted as confessors in November 1354. This curious fact suggests that the Franciscans were to blame for whatever trouble followed; and the guess is confirmed by the fact that in the next few years Trillek began once more to admit Dominican and Carmelite confessors, but no Franciscans.[1] Since the bishop's register gives no definite reason for this action (*certis ex causis nos moventibus*), we can only guess that these reasons were more or less the same as those which are re-echoed in the bill of complaints of May 1356. Both Grandisson and Trillek must have attended the provincial council of that year in London, and we may presume that they brought their grievances with them—and they were probably not alone in their experiences.

Archbishop FitzRalph reached London towards the end of June 1356[2]; and the debates of the provincial council, which had been held in the previous month, must have made the criticisms against the friars more than usually topical. The Dean of St. Paul's was Richard Kilwyngton, who had known FitzRalph in the days when they both were students of theology at Oxford; and they both had shared the hospitality of Richard d'Aungerville's household twenty years before this time.[3] Kilwyngton invited his friend to preach to the people at St. Paul's Cross, the most famous pulpit in the city. FitzRalph had not preached in London since the years 1346 and 1347, when he had preached at some of the processions held in thanksgiving for the King's victory at Crecy. But he was by now a well-known preacher in the vernacular and a powerful controversialist. The first of his London sermons was preached at St. Paul's Cross on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 26, 1356, and contains allusions to the problem of dominion and property.[4] This was followed

[1] See a list from the fly-leaf of Trillek's register, printed in Parry's edition of *Bishop Charlton's Register*, p. 61.

[2] He preached at Coventry, on his way from Dundalk to London, on June 13, 1356.

[3] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I, p. 766.

[4] Bodl. MS. 144, fol. 82; I quote all these sermons from this MS.

by a sermon on the fourth Sunday after Trinity, of which we have only brief notes in the Archbishop's diary. FitzRalph then left the city for the summer, but preached twice at Deddington in October, and again for the feast of All Saints. These sermons were all preached in English, and are full of allusions to the question of the mendicant privileges. Later in the year, when the friars accused FitzRalph of stirring up strife by his sermons to the people, he justified himself by saying that he had been formally invited to preach on this topic: *ad loquendum super ista materia fueram requisitus.* One incident took place during this summer, to which FitzRalph later alludes. He had been preaching against the state of mendicant poverty, and had maintained that Christ's example could not be cited in favour of begging. In the heat of the moment, he went so far as to wager his Bible that no friar could find a text in any of its books that would prove their claim in this respect: *dicebam quod si quis in evangelio id reperiret, illi bibliam meam darem.* On the following Sunday a friar, also preaching at St. Paul's Cross, took up the challenge, but avoided the difficulty by appealing to the gloss.

These early sermons in the summer of 1356 were no more than a preliminary skirmish between the two parties. FitzRalph returned to London from Deddington in November, and was once more invited to preach at St. Paul's Cross. His first sermon was preached on the fourth Sunday in Advent (December 18, 1356), and deals almost entirely with the question of Our Lord's ownership and poverty in the abstract. This was followed by a second sermon on the second Sunday after Epiphany, January 22, 1357, in which the Archbishop made a frontal attack on the whole state of mendicant poverty. These two sermons summarise the teaching of his *De Pauperie Salvatoris*, which he had sent to the Pope at Avignon and had also circulated among his friends in London and Oxford during the preceding summer.[1] His third sermon was preached

[1] Bodl. M.S. 144, fol. 94 b: *scripsi de ille materia septem libellos, quos domino nostro pape et quibusdam dominis meis cardinalibus approbandos seu discuciendos atque corrigendos, si oporteret, direxi: et Oxonie eciam ad eos legendum volentibus communicandos iam tradidi.* Since FitzRalph was at Deddington in the autumn of 1356, we may guess that he visited his Oxford friends in that year.

on the first Sunday in Lent, February 26, 1357, on the text: *Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant.* The Archbishop begins by an instruction on the duty of tithe-paying, and denounces the injustice of those who in London, as in Drogheda and Dundalk, sought to evade their duties by various pretences. The question of justice leads to the question of restitution, and the Archbishop ends his sermon with a vigorous denunciation of those London merchants who withhold their tithes from the secular clergy and seek absolution for their sin from the friars. Such absolution, he holds, is invalid and sinful; and he challenges the whole position of the friar-confessors in the city. Such a challenge could not go unanswered; and on March 7 a meeting of the various mendicant orders was held in the Franciscan chapter-house at Greyfriars to review the whole position. A list of twenty-one errors was drawn up by one of the Franciscans present, all of which were denounced as having been publicly taught by the Archbishop of Armagh. The first five of these errors concern the state of Our Lord's human life on earth; the next six deal with the state of mendicant poverty among the friars; and the last ten deal with the mendicant privileges of preaching and hearing confessions. The articles were drafted in the form of a public summons, and the prior of the London Augustinians, who seems to have been the senior prior of the four orders, was entrusted with the duty of delivering it to the Archbishop in the name of the four mendicant orders.[1] John of Arderne, the Augustinian prior, duly delivered the summons at the door of the Archbishop's lodging-house in London on Friday, March 10; and he records that the summons was received by members of the Archbishop's household, who came to the door and were witnesses of the delivery. Two days later on the third Sunday in Lent, the Archbishop preached once more, and for the last time, at St. Paul's Cross. Taking as his text the words *Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis*, he undertakes to answer the friars point by point, from the first article to the last. The sermon, as we have it, is really a pamphlet

[1] The text of this appeal has been preserved in the Sidney Sussex MS. 64, fol. 4; and FitzRalph summarises it in his sermon, as given in Bodl. MS. 144, fol. 112-127.

or the Archbishop states clearly that he had no time to deal with the matter fully from the pulpit, but that he summarised his argument there, and later issued the full text of his sermon in manuscript form. The sermon is the most vigorous of all his London sermons, and contains some topical allusions which must have delighted his London audience. Geoffrey Chaucer was a young lad living in London in 1357. Did he hear this sermon at St. Paul's Cross? FitzRalph waxes eloquent. How can the friars speak of poverty when they live in such splendour? "They have churches finer than our cathedrals, more splendid ornaments than any prelate in the world, save only perhaps our lord the Pope. They have more books, and finer books, than any prelate or doctor; their belfries are immensely costly; they have double cloisters of great splendour, in which armed knights could do battle with lances erect; they wear finer vestments than any prelates in the world." And he is as scornful of their humility: "Is there no ambition," he asks, "in their anxiety to receive privileges as confessors and preachers? Or is it no small honour to count kings and queens, dukes and duchesses, earls and countesses, and other noble men and women among your spiritual children?" But his shafts are most telling when he contrasts the practice of the friars in his day with the rule of their order as written by Saint Francis. *Regula Francisci precipit . . .*: clause by clause he quotes, or claims to quote, the Franciscan rule, and sets against it the daily practice of the friars in London. It is unquestionably a powerful indictment, or more truly a declaration of war. And the fact that the Archbishop was preaching to the people, in the English language and from the most public pulpit in the city, made the challenge more dramatic.

The sequel was inevitable. In this same sermon FitzRalph alludes to efforts that the friars were making to obtain an injunction from the King to prevent him from preaching any more sermons against their privileges, and he mentions that they have already obtained a similar injunction against his friend and supporter, the Dean of St. Paul's. The friars were probably successful in these efforts, for the last of Fitz-

Ralph's London sermons was preached, not at St. Paul's Cross, but at the parish church of St. Mary Newchurch or Woolchurchhaw, on the feast of the Annunciation, less than a fortnight after his last sermon at St. Paul's. The Archbishop is preaching on the feast of the day, but goes out of his way to attack the friars on the subject of confession. Six days later the King issued a mandate to FitzRalph, stating that he had been informed that the Archbishop was about to cross the seas for a cause which is not named in the mandate, but which can only be an appeal to the papal court at Avignon. The King strictly forbids the Archbishop to leave the kingdom without his special permission; and a few days later he issues letters to the sheriffs of London and to the mayors and bailiffs of most of the ports on the south-eastern coast, ordering them to see to it that no religious, or any other person, or any friar of the Augustinian order, crosses the seas without special royal licence.[1] These letters were plainly issued in the hope of preventing the two protagonists, Archbishop FitzRalph and the Augustinian prior John of Arderne, from carrying their cause to Innocent VI. The fact that FitzRalph was able to preach his famous *Defensorium Curatorum* at a papal Consistory in Avignon on November 8, 1357, is proof sufficient that the King's officers were unable to prevent the Archbishop from attaining his goal. But we have a personal document which confirms this conclusion. At the end of most MSS. of the *Summa de Erroribus Armenorum* is a long autobiographical prayer, which FitzRalph must have composed in the last two years of his life.[2] In this prayer, which is addressed to the Word Incarnate, the Archbishop gives thanks for the special protection which was granted him during his flight from England: *Via eras michi recta, cum ego a facie ministrorum regalium fugiens latitarem, qui litteras quas brevia nominant plurimas in diversis partibus regni nostri acceperant, ut me caperent et tenerent: quoniam in preveniendo eorum insidias nunc me interius premonebas ut fugerem, nunc*

[1] See Rymer's *Foedera*, Part III, p. 352-3; and *Cal. Close Rolls*, (1354-60), p. 399.

[2] This prayer is omitted in the oldest of the four Vatican texts of the *Summa*, MS. Vat. Lat. 1034; but is given in all other MSS. Its authenticity was questioned by Lane Poole in his article on FitzRalph in *D.N.B.*, but is confirmed by the existence of a similar long prayer at the end of the *De Pauperie Salvatoris*.

*me exterius dirigebas quo pergerem, tandem via breviori apud homines declinata multo celerius per Te viam rectissimam me produxeras quo tendebam.* This unusual spectacle of an archbishop in hiding from the king's officers, who have orders to search for him through the length and breadth of the kingdom, must have caused some excitement in the country-places through which he passed. We may guess the reason for this flight without much difficulty. Edward III was a patron of the friars; and as King of England he was increasingly hostile to any attempt to bring an English dispute across the seas to the papal court at Avignon. Both the archbishop and the friars must have seen that the questions which had been raised in FitzRalph's London sermons could only be settled by papal authority. Hence the appeal of the friars, and the archbishop's sudden flight from England to France.

There is no need to do more than summarise here the litigation which began at Avignon immediately after FitzRalph's *Proposicio* of November 8. The most complete collection of the documents of the case is to be found in the Sidney Sussex MS. 64; but there are similar collections of documents in Lambeth MS. 121 and in two Oxford MSS. (Bodl. MS. 158 and 865.[1] The earliest in date is an *instrumentum notarile*, which was drawn up a few days after the *Defensorium Curatorum* had been preached; and this is followed by a *libellus*, which was submitted to the judges who had been appointed by Innocent VI to hear the case. A series of *responsiones ad obiecciones*, and a special tract *de audiencia confessionum* seem to belong to the earlier stages of the controversy; and our extant MSS. contain two documents which seem to have been drafted with a view to putting FitzRalph's case before the secular clergy as a whole, in France as well as in England. One of these is entitled: *Informacio brevis pro clero et populo;* the other is an *Ordinacio prelatorum et curatorum regni Ffrancie*, dealing with the problem of diocesan jurisdiction and the mendicant privileges. Apart from the purely legal proceedings, FitzRalph was busy writing tracts against the friars, and the friars were as busy

[1] Lambeth MS. 1208 is no more than a copy of Sidney Sussex MS. 64.

answering his tracts. The most elaborate of FitzRalph's treatises is a dialogue *De mendicitate fratrum et eorum privilegiis*, which is given as an eighth book of his *De Pauperie Salvatoris* in some of our extant texts; but which appears as a separate treatise in a very old French text, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Baluze) MS. 3222. This same MS., which seems to be contemporary with the events of these years, also contains a *Scriptum cuiusdam iuvenis* in defence of FitzRalph's position and another treatise with the title: *In causa domini Ardmachani allegaciones magistri Ricardi devoti viri contra fratres.* This *magister Ricardus*, who remained loyal to FitzRalph in the midst of all his troubles, is perhaps Richard Kilwyngton, the Dean of St. Paul's, who is known to have been active on FitzRalph's side in his controversy with the friars. But the internal evidence of these treatises shows that FitzRalph was steadily losing ground at Avignon, and his friend, *magister Ricardus*, finds it necessary to rebut the charge that FitzRalph's cause should not be admitted to the papal courts since he is acting *sine consensu capituli sui et absque sciencia seu auctoritate aliorum prelatorum seu inferiorum.*[1] Plainly, FitzRalph's action in carrying the case to Avignon had been undertaken on his own responsibility, and very few indeed of the English prelates of his day would have cared to let themselves get involved in a life-and-death struggle with the friars.

Among FitzRalph's adversaries the most conspicuous (and the most successful) was the English Franciscan, Roger Conway, who was the twenty-second provincial minister of the English province. Conway followed FitzRalph to Avignon, and his *Defensio religionis mendicancium contra Ardmachanum* is an exceedingly able reply to FitzRalph's *Defensorium Curatorum*. FitzRalph answered Conway in a short treatise, *Replicaciones contra fr. Rogerium Conewey*, which is only extant in the Paris MS. 3222, ff. 159-194. But Conway was ready with yet another treatise, *Questiones tres de Christi paupertate et dominio temporali*, in which he argues against FitzRalph's philosophical position, but makes some interest-

[1] Paris MS. 3222, fol. 111 v.

ing concessions as to the nature of the Franciscan rule of poverty.[1] Apart from Conway's writings, we may be sure that the other mendicant orders were not without their defenders, and a treatise by a German Dominican, Bartholomew of Bolsenheim, has recently been published, in which the author *respondet ad articulos a domino Armachano contra ordines mendicancium propositos.*[2] But Roger Conway was plainly the moving spirit in the whole controversy on the mendicant side, and he was not content to remain on the defensive. He was soon busy with a counter-charge of heresy against FitzRalph and some of the archbishop's supporters at Avignon. One curious document, preserved in the Sidney Sussex MS. (f. 108), guarantees the Archbishop of Armagh against legal proceedings on a charge of heresy incurred by one of his supporters. The heretical propositions named in the document are so patently absurd that it is hard to resist the conclusion that the friars were using every and any means to discredit their powerful adversary.

FitzRalph's whole theory of dominion and property, which he seems to have borrowed from the Augustinian theologian, Giles of Rome, was open to grave criticisms, and was in fact condemned as false and heretical when Wyclif used it (in a modified form) in his attack on the Church some twenty years later.[3] But this philosophical problem plays a minor part in the controversy, for the friars concentrated on the question of papal privileges. FitzRalph was, to the end of his life, over-fond of singular opinions. One of his favourite doctrines, as can be seen by a study of his sermons on charity, was the view that a man who refuses to distribute his superfluous goods in the form of alms during his lifetime, though he bequeathes all his estate to the Church or the poor after his death, is guilty of a mortal sin of avarice, and can hope for no salvation. This startling doctrine was actually

[1] Roger Conway's part in this controversy has been made the subject of a very interesting thesis by Fr. Paulinus Lavery, O.F.M., which is unfortunately still unpublished.

[2] Published by Fr. G. Meersseman, O.P., in *Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum*, vol. v (1936), pp. 124-173.

[3] See the summary of this doctrine as given by A. J. Carlyle in his *Medieval Political Theory*, vol. V, pp. 402-9; or more fully by Rivière in *Le Problème de l'Eglise et de l'Etat* (Louvain, 1926), pp. 191-227.

expounded by the archbishop in a sermon which he preached at Avignon, in the chapel of the Vice-Chancellor of the papal court, on November 1, 1358, at a time when his controversy with the friars was still at its height.[1] FitzRalph had apparently been invited to preach in the Pope's own chapel, but Innocent VI fell ill shortly before the feast, and the sermon was transferred to the Vice-Chancellor's chapel. Some of the friars were no doubt present, and were on the watch for any singular opinion which they might attack. The sermon was hardly over when criticisms were heard, and FitzRalph took an early opportunity of replying to his critics. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1359, he was once more invited to preach in the Pope's chapel, and his sermon, though nominally on the Feast of the day, is really an elaborate defence of his doctrine about alms-giving.[2] We have no means of knowing whether the archbishop convinced his hearers; but it is at least certain that he was not asked to preach again in the Pope's chapel during the two years of life that remained to him.

Meanwhile, Innocent VI seems to have been playing for time, and he thereby succeeded in avoiding a formal decision of the case, which would have been bound to raise fresh controversy. On October 1, 1358, he sent a bull to England. ordering the bishops to permit the friars the continued use of their privileges whilst the lawsuit between the Archbishop of Armagh and the friars was still pending[3]; and a year later (July 14, 1359), at the request of Roger Conway, he sent a second bull in which he confirmed the teaching of his predecessor, John XXII, in the famous *Vas Electionis*.[4] Meanwhile, FitzRalph remained at Avignon, where he seems to have been busy on various treatises, and probably also on the work of revising his sermon-diary with a view to publication. He was in touch with some bishops in England, for Henry Knighton, writing at Leicester a few years later, states

[1] Bodl. MS. 144, fol. 133 r.
[2] Bodl. MS. 144, fol. 243 r.
[3] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. VI, pp. 316-7; see also *Cal. Papal Letters*, vol. III, p. 596.
[4] *Bull Franc.* VI, p. 319: a copy of this second bull is in Sidney Sussex MS. 64, fol. 107.

that he received a subsidy from the English clergy[1]; and a letter has been preserved, addressed to him from Oxford by the University, in which he is requested to forward their cause against the mendicant friars.[2] Thomas Walsingham's version of the story has often been quoted: "The Archbishop of Armagh maintained his opinions for a long time, and on many occasions, against the friars, and proved by diverse reasons that they had departed from their rules. But, alas, the English clergy withdrew their support, and the friars, by means of large sums of money, won the upper hand in the papal curia; and, before ever the case was settled, they got their privileges renewed as before." Walsingham, we may add, was a monk of St. Alban's and a bitter opponent of the friars; as was also Henry Knighton, canon of Leicester.

A more curious document from the last years of FitzRalph's life has been preserved among the Bohemian archives at Prague. This is a letter which FitzRalph wrote to a Franciscan bishop on hearing that the latter was about to enter the lists as his adversary.[3] The letter is undated, but must have been written in 1357 or 1358. It is addressed to Friar John de Marignollis, Bishop of Bisignano. Friar John de Marignollis was one of the most remarkable figures in the Franciscan Order at this period. He had been a missionary in the Holy Land, and had travelled thence through China and India, during the years 1338-1353. On his return to Europe, he was appointed Bishop of Bisignano in recognition of his services, and the Emperor Charles IV had attached him to his court as one of his official chroniclers. Soon afterwards the Franciscans found themselves involved in their controversy with the Archbishop of Armagh, and they seem to have looked round for some eminent personage whom they could bring forth as their champion against the Primate of All Ireland. Bishop John of Marignollis was just the man for the task, and he let it be known that he would visit Avignon and deal with the prelate who had so rashly challenged the

[1] Knighton's Chronicle (ed. Lumby), vol. II, p. 93.

[2] Sidney Sussex MS. 64, fol. 126.

[3] I owe my knowledge of this out-of-the-way document to Father Paulinus Lavery, who quotes it in his thesis from Fr. Golubovich, O.F.M., *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa* (Quaracchi, 1923), vol. IV, p. 269.

privileges of his order. FitzRalph got to hear of his purpose, and wrote a letter which was designed both as a warning and a challenge. The bishop is an old man, he says, and it is not wise for old men to enter the field of Mars. But God will give the victory to the better man, and FitzRalph has no doubt as to the result: *Neque vestrum, reverende pater, timemus adventum, ut vestris argumentis terreamur.* He recalls the days, now thirty years past, when he had argued in public against the systems of Ockham and Burley: *iam anglicana sophismata, Okkam puta, Burley et aliorum . . . . omnino destruximus.* This allusion to the years when he was lecturing on the Sentences at Oxford is an unexpected piece of *bravura*. But FitzRalph was not in the humour to mince his words when he was writing this letter. The Franciscans must have boasted of the travels of their new champion, for FitzRalph taunts him with his wanderings: *veniat igitur inveteratus ille Bisinianensis episcopus, veniat ille qui se apostolum orientis in curia Caesaris ampulose denominat, ut experiatur in opere quid sompnia sua sibi prodesse valeant.* It is good for a dog to be tied up when he is young; but there are dogs who need to be chained in their old age: *palpitantem senio molossum ligare curabimus, cui iam neque vocis claritas neque sciencie habilitas suffragantur.* FitzRalph was a dangerous adversary when once he was roused; but it is impossible to excuse these insulting phrases. The letter has come down to us without further commentary, and we have no means of knowing whether the venerable Bishop of Bisignano did in fact accept the Archbishop's taunting challenge.

Death came to end the controversy toward the end of the year 1360. The Annals of St. Mary's, Dublin, give November 10 as the date of FitzRalph's death, and there is no sound reason to doubt this evidence, though other dates have been recorded.[1] Walsingham notes his death under the year 1360, and adds that his bones were later translated to Dundalk, where he had been born: " and countless miracles are wrought

[1] See the discussion by Lane Poole in his article on FitzRalph in *D.N.B.* FitzRalph petitioned for various favours for his kinsmen and members of his household on August 14, 1358; September 5, 1358; September 5, 1359; and September 10, 1360. See the *Calendar of Papal Petitions*, vol. I, pp. 334; 332; 347; 359.

there to the glory of God." Somewhat later in his *Chronicle*, under the year 1377, he records that " God, wishing to declare the justice which Master FitzRaffe exercised during his life on earth, works every day many great miracles at Richard's tomb in Dundalk in Ireland : at which, so it is said, the friars are little pleased." Urban VI appointed a commission of prelates to examine into the truth of these stories, and John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh, was appointed to make inquiries with the Bishop of Meath and the Bishop of Limerick.[1] Some witnesses were examined in Ireland, and a report was sent to the Pope. A little later (January 1399) a fresh commission was appointed to make inquiries in England ; but no more is heard of the matter, though the shrine of " Saint Richard of Dundalk " was a place of pilgrimage in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Finally, Archbishop Dowdall, the first schismatic Archbishop of Armagh and a kinsman of Archbishop FitzRalph, if we may trust the name, in a synod which he held at Drogheda in June, 1545, appointed June 27 (*in crastino Johannis et Pauli*) as the day on which the festival of Saint Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, was to be celebrated every year with nine lessons.[2] The cult seems to have survived locally as late as the seventeenth century.

If meekness is an unfailing mark of sanctity, FitzRalph was no saint ; but the angry controversy of his last years should not make us forget the twelve years of zealous diocesan work in Lichfield and Armagh, nor the long series of able theological treatises which made the name *Armachanus* famous in the later Middle Ages.

AUBREY GWYNN

[1] Dr. Lane Poole has collected the evidence for this story of the miracles in *D.N.B.* *s.v.* FitzRalph ; see also Little and FitzMaurice : *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (1920), p. 147.

[2] Mant, *History of the Church in Ireland* (London, 1840), pp. 181-2, quoting Dowdall's Register, p. 89.

# WHAT IS MAN ?

BY DR. T. W. T. DILLON
Professor of Materia Medica, University College, Dublin

"WHAT is man that thou art mindful of him ?" To this question, a cry of almost despairing humility in the mouth of the Psalmist, a variety of answers have been offered. From Plato, who devoted part of the *Phaedrus* to an analysis of man's soul, down through the ages the philosophers have tried to clarify the mystery of man's dual nature. Plato was emphatic on the absolute duality : for him the soul used the body as the rider used the horse, or (as he expressed it in another mood) the soul was imprisoned in the body. The penalty of sin was the transference of the soul, after death, to another and less worthy body : a vicious man was to be reborn as a wolf, a glutton as a swine. Virtue in this life gradually helped the soul upwards through a succession of rebirths, till the philosopher's soul—which had learned to value the good above all else—passed after a possible final purgation to the perfection of God. This idea of duality, of the soul as something quite apart from the body, has haunted men's minds ever since—and, almost certainly, had haunted them long before Plato. There are traces of it in the Bible ; and St. Paul, who used freely in his wonderful letters the ideas of his time, cried out : " Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? " (Rom. vii, 24). But there is another and a firmer note in St. Paul, when he tells us that " we shall not all fall asleep, but we shall all be changed " (1 Cor. xv, 51), and goes on to explain the resurrection of the body. But the duality of soul and body is only one aspect of the essential unity that is man ; and the unity is at once the great truth and the great mystery of man. That a spiritual essence inhabited a mortal body of matter to which it was only accidentally—and not substantially —united was one view, that of Plato. The other view, that

of Plato's greatest pupil Aristotle, maintained and defended a substantial—and not a merely accidental—union of two really distinct principles, matter and form (the spiritual soul). This latter view, adopted by the Scholastics, is enshrined in the famous formula of the Council of Vienne (1312) that the soul is the form of the body, and found its greatest systematic exponent in St. Thomas Aquinas. Dominant in the Middle Ages, it survived the indifference of the Renaissance scholars —who cared less for philosophy than the men of any age before or since—and the eager revolutionary spirit of the Reformers.

But it is the fate of old truths to die for the lack of opposition: ideas draw their vitality from the soil of controversial minds. Thus there was an empty throne, which Descartes filled with incredible ease. He returned to the absolute duality of Plato; and since his day this view underlies all the long controversy concerning the mechanism relating the operations of soul and body. If soul and body are two distinct beings, then there must be some central point, some governing lever or switch, which enables the soul, that powerful prisoner, to exercise control. Men have even sought the seat of government, the control room; and opinion has wavered between the pituitary and the pineal glands, both in convenient proximity to the brain. With the advance of experimental biology, the body and its mechanism loomed ever larger; the soul, which defied experiment and revealed its presence and nature only through the body, gradually lost in stature. The general preoccupation with two of the four types of secondary causes led to a strange philosophical distortion, a kind of amputation of the intelligence. Men sought to measure the effect of a given motion on a given matter (Aristotle and St. Thomas would have spoken of the action of an efficient cause on a natural body).[1] They gradually came to believe that all being could be fully explained in terms of these two causes; the final and the formal causes faded and disappeared. This was due in part to the influence of Kant, who had

[1] For the Scholastics a material being (*corpus naturale*) is composed (1) of two substantial principles, prime matter and form; (2) and of several accidental principles (forms), of which the chief is "quantity." It is this "quantity"—in which inhere the other measurable accidents—that many scientists call "matter."

introduced a new duality into being by separating off the thing in itself from the phenomenon. With the thing in itself it was quite profitless, he held, to occupy oneself; the phenomena were alone amenable to fruitful analysis.

What Kant called phenomena are the data of experimental science; hence the general adoption of the Kantian viewpoint amongst scientists. They had learned from Newton and the astronomers the new language of abstraction, which isolates from the multifarious complicity of the real a skeleton of matter moving along mathematical curves. These highly mathematical concepts, the new application of the scales to chemistry introduced by Lavoisier, and the rapid discovery of the so-called chemical elements fitted together like the pieces of a puzzle. Here was the world of phenomena, they rather hastily concluded, in which forces acted upon passive matter, pushing it this way and that. The forces in the new jargon replaced the efficient causes, and the matter replaced the natural body with its "quantity." These forces they could manipulate and control; the real world re-emerged, with almost miraculous obedience, from their experiments and calculations. They had analysed, so they thought, reality into matter and motion; and resynthesis, though more difficult, proved more and more successful. The world, they discovered, was built according to a few simple rules and combinations of weights and numbers. Laplace had no need of the hypothesis of a creator to explain the heavens; so far had man's thought and presumption moved, in a brief hundred years, from the noble religious spirit of Newton's *Principia*. When Wöhler synthesized urea, the first organic substance ever formed from its elements, the creation of life itself seemed but a further stage, a laborious one no doubt, but along an open road. And so, from triumph to triumph, modern science made its royal progress; there were no setbacks, since men had ceased to worry about inessentials. The final and formal causes, so ran the implied argument, were the affair of the metaphysician; they concerned the thing itself, and had not Kant shown that metaphysics lay outside the great wall surrounding and circumscribing the intellect of man. Teleology

became almost a pejorative term; no one might say that a thing happened so that something else might happen; things happened only because of something else. Causes, mark the now absolute term, invariably preceded effects in a time which—as Bergson points out—had become strangely spatial in its connotations.

But teleology cannot be eradicated from the human mind by decree; it obstinately reasserts itself in us all, beginning with the child who asks: "What is it for?" Nor can it be easily driven out from the biological laboratories; for every man who studies the function of an organ, admits the existence of a final cause. There are indeed many who deny that function is anything more than the accidental result of a concurrence of efficient causes. They will not admit that an event posterior in time can have any causative action on an earlier one. What they desire is that the class of efficient causes should, by a monstrous expansion, absorb that remnant of the final causes which refuses to be elbowed out into the metaphysical wilderness. They would do away with all distinction between the causes spatially and temporally continuous with their effects and the causes which exist as conceptual models of the as yet unborn reality.

The formal cause was far easier to banish—or at least to forget. When in the course of ruthless abstraction one has stripped reality of everything that makes it real, why then the form is represented merely in the mathematical function which governs the sweep of the particle's curve through space. That indeed remains; and any reader of Poincaré, the great French mathematician, knows how vital it is in science to find the correct form of the function. But if to a pure mathematician the form of a function is a beautiful thing, to the average experimentalist it is no more beautiful than any other of his tools—the weighing-machine, for instance, or the foot-rule. Nor does it, for him, enter in any special way into the reality that emerges from his calculations and manipulations. The Aristotelian formal cause—which with the material cause (*materia prima*) constitutes the active being—has shrunk to the position of a mere accessory. We are left then with the

efficient causes operating in a strictly delimited sphere from which is excluded, *ab initio*, anything that cannot be measured by foot-rule or weighed by scales; the bare bones of reality—or, more accurately and philosophically, the real accidents without their substance. But to the men who are handling these bare bones or accidents, they are all the reality that matters: that is the point to remember. They have discovered the secret sought so long in vain by the alchemists; and even life itself, they are persuaded, is on the point of yielding to their new magic. Biology and its more specialized branch, physiology, the science of man's φυσις, are children of the nineteenth century. Slowly at first, then with a rush, they have pushed back the barriers erected by imprudent Vitalists, whose central position always rested on a pitiable confusion of terms. The latter said: "You cannot explain life in terms of forces and particles"; and if they had clung to that impregnable position, there would have been no dislodging them—nor indeed would there have been any necessity of battle. But when they went on, wantonly, to say "There is a vital force which your instruments cannot measure and to the operation of which certain phenomena occurring in living tissues are due"—then they appeared to be issuing a challenge, while in fact they were merely using the word force as if it were equivalent to cause—to the principle of life. They had, alas, drunk at the same philosophical springs as their opponents, and were offering battle on ground prepared by the enemy. Force is only a synonym for cause in that abstract region where experimental science weighs and measures the elements of its special mathematical universe. It has no other clearly defined meaning which can be usefully discussed. It was, therefore, a thoroughly cogent reply from science: "If you mean force, then it must be measurable"—for so indeed, *ex hypothesi*, it must. "If you mean something else, will you tell us what exactly you mean." And the tragedy of the nineteenth century was that those who knew the answer to that question—or at least one good and plausible answer—were as much out of contact with the world of science as if they inhabited another planet. The Vitalists, that strange

sect so much akin to the Fundamentalists, had no answer; for they meant force, and yet hoped rather than believed that it would not yield to measurement. They believed, just as strongly as the mass of scientists, that reality was a complex intrication of force-causes operating on a passive matter, and that each effect became in its turn a cause—a complex endless band which revolved in a universe of determinism. Only, they hoped that their vital force—which, they implied, was the special agent of the soul—would prove to have so much of spirit and so little of matter that it would elude the measurements of their opponents.

It is too easy to mock at the Vitalists now; for indeed the necessary materiality exposed their vital force to the vulgar fate of its competitor. And if it was wholly spiritual, what became of it in a world of particles and curves? It was the dilemma that had baffled Descartes—but a dilemma become more urgent, more poignant since his day. How did the soul, that purely spiritual substance, impose its directing will on the material—the purely material body? To postulate a vital force, supremely strong yet immeasurable in action, was but to postpone the evil day. The fact is, of course, that no sign of such a self-contradictory monster has ever emerged. The only serious attempt to demonstrate it by experiment collapsed after a brief, though by no means inglorious, career. Driesch at least renamed it *entelechia*, and showed thereby that he at last had freed himself from the shackles of determinism. But that is to anticipate. Long before Driesch's time the damage was done; the soul, itself the supreme formal cause, had gone to join the formal and final causes in the desert of metaphysics outside the ken of the experimental scientist.

Part of the creed of the nineteenth century was that induction was the sovereign method of inquiry. It is ironical to reflect that all unconsciously, in the development and application of higher mathematics to the reality around them, the scientists were perfecting the greatest masterpiece of creative deduction that man has ever conceived. What had been a respectable hobby, or at best a kind of pseudo-mysticism

with Pythagorean traditions, became in the hands of Newton a great instrument of analysis and research. The idea of mathematical law operating in a causal manner is not merely a reversal of the classical Ptolemaic epicyclic astronomy. Both were mathematical; but while the epicycles were the description, as near as might be, of movements governed by other and higher causes, the Newtonian law of gravity was the installation in the universe of a blind force which swayed the planetary movements into curves. The epicycles were the fruit of careful induction; the law of gravity is pure deduction. It was not, however, till the nineteenth century that mathematics began to permeate physics, chemistry, and at last biology. These men then of the amazing nineteenth century owed their great powers to a deductive method; but their praise of induction was not pure delusion. Mill's theory of induction bore indeed little relation to the actual facts of experimental work. The men who made the discoveries did not waste their time in seeking to establish the validity of some new general law by the immense, and admittedly vain, labour of complete induction. To them induction meant quite simply that similar effects have similar causes; and they thought in terms of forces acting upon matter. With the growth of the conviction that there was no such thing as a specific vital force, that there were in fact no effects produced in living bodies which might not be the effects of familiar causes, the position of the soul in the scientist's scheme of things became more and more insecure. Bereft of its only conceivable instrument, the vital force, it was reduced to a vague aura, a perfume given off by reality in action. Thought was the emanation of the brain—whatever that meant; perhaps it only meant that even the most advanced biologists were not yet prepared to follow their argument to its logical conclusion and deny thought. But they had no such scruples as regards the soul. The latter, it was implied, could neither be deduced from the fundamental mathematical laws that underlie all reality, the Maxwell equations; nor could it be induced from any measurable effect. Like the ether in the Einsteinian cosmology, it had become unnecessary.

There was another current in the scientific thought of the nineteenth century which contributed to the condemnation of the soul: the hypothesis of Evolution. To understand the irresistible attraction exercised by the evolutionary hypothesis on the minds of men it is only necessary to recall the immediate and permanent success of one of the only medieval maxims which has held undiminished sway over men's thoughts for six hundred years: Occam's razor—*Entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate.* If evolution is true, a vast arbitrary multiplicity is reduced to a developing unity; all life springs from the same root. But the Fundamentalists, like their cousins the Vitalists, rushed to the ramparts to defend, again, the indefensible. And so the controversy became, most irrationally, one between science and religion. Since the soul is the centre of the religious life, it was, in that ardent and quite unscientific controversy, the symbol around which the battle raged. The evolutionists were concerned to show that not only the body but the soul evolved from lower forms; the fundamentalists, basing their argument on an arbitrary interpretation of Holy Writ, sought to disprove evolution altogether. Neither side, in their controversial moments, appeared to care so much for truth as for victory. On the one hand, the application of the evolution-hypothesis to the soul implied a confusion of terms analogous to that already noted—the confusion between cause and force. On the other hand, to deny the evolution of the body—and even the evolution of the different animal species—because it was stated in Genesis that "God made the beasts of the earth according to their kinds," was to confuse the fact of creation with the assumed mechanism of evolution—two quite different things.

But there is little doubt that the confusion of the evolutionists was the more serious one. Their concept of the soul was in line with the current concept of cause. They thought of it as a principle which betrayed its presence in the animal body by certain measurable effects; the more complicated the effects, the more subtle the cause. They were, however, also convinced adherents of the theory that all effects in living, as in non-living, matter were the results

of the same causes—the elemental forces. And they had, in addition, formulated for the first time in recorded philosophical history a remarkable principle, destined to achieve a spectacular and most surprising success. Hitherto it had been accepted as axiomatic that the greater cannot arise from the less in an enclosed universe. This is indeed the substance of the Principle of Sufficient Reason in metaphysics and of the first Law of Thermodynamics in science. But the evolutionists held as the first principle of their creed the direct reverse—and held it with something approaching fanaticism. It should be observed that there was no conceivable scientific reason for holding such a surprising doctrine. No evidence of a kind that biology might provide could ever have any bearing on this question. Yet, possibly in reaction from the angry claims of the fundamentalists, the evolutionists insisted on their postulate ; and rapidly it gained the acquiescence of apparently reasonable men. But since men are fundamentally metaphysical and cling instinctively to a scheme of values in which things are better or worse, more or less important, the view gradually grew that the less out of which the greater arose was the more important, the better part of reality. The amoeba became in some strange way more important than the ape—since the amoeba was, at that time, believed to be the beginning of the whole story of evolution. Man, in his turn, was triumphantly discovered to be the lineal descendant of an enterprising anthropoid ape who had adapted himself successfully to a treeless environment. The evidence for this daring hypothesis—which has, of course, long since been abandoned—was always of the most tenuous and question-begging kind.

For present purposes, however, we are not so much concerned with the factual truth or error underlying the theory of evolution as with the extraordinary spirit which permeates it. At every stage the emergence of the greater from the less, of the more complicated and more highly developed organism from the grosser precursor, is regarded, not as clear proof of the intervention of some additional causating factor, but as a mere demonstration of the supreme importance of matter. By an almost comical reversal of all accepted philosophical

systems, matter was elevated to the highest place in the hierarchy of values. Men proclaimed themselves proudly materialist and developed, as witness Haeckel, an almost missionary fervour. It would naturally be foolish to overestimate the influence of the extremists on either side. What they really did do was to open the eyes of their own party to the evident absurdity of the respective party positions. But there is, I think, little doubt that the introduction by the biologists of what may perhaps be called the Principle of Insufficient Reason did much to prepare the minds of serious non-partizan men for the conception of the soul which was current in scientific circles at the end of the nineteenth century. It is, I think, hardly an exaggeration to say that the soul had become a by-product of the all-important interplay of forces and particles in living matter. At all events there could be no doubt that it was a wholly secondary phenomenon, body-bound in the strictest sense, a helpless plaything of forces over which it had no sort of control.

This was one answer to the question of the Psalmist, an answer of such depressing bleakness that the wonder was that men could believe it to be true and still live. Probably no one ever believed it in the way that men believe in love and beauty and, if they are saints, in God. Nor is it necessary to accuse of wilful blindness to obvious truth those who have professed this dispiriting and degrading gospel. They were, on the contrary, quite sincere; but they were defending a special kind of truth, the only kind attainable by the method of experimental science; and it is in a way to their credit that they had the courage of their convictions. The full examination of the philosophical difficulties underlying their apparent neglect of reality is a task which still remains incomplete.

T. W. T. Dillon

# DOLLFUSS AND HIS WORK

BY REV. BRENDAN LAWLER, S.J.

ENGLEBERT DOLLFUSS was born in 1892 in Lower Austria, where his parents farmed a small homestead. He was brought up in the comparative poverty and hardship of the small peasantry, and it is doubtful whether he could have obtained a secondary education, had not his Bishop stepped in with the necessary help. After eight years at school in Hollabrun, he went to Vienna to begin his law studies. While in the midst of these, he found himself, at the age of 22, swept like the rest of his generation into the slaughter of the World War. He possibly might have been overlooked—for he was even smaller than Napoleon—but he managed to force his way into the fighting ranks. His companions remember him as a man of sincere piety, upright and unselfish, with the stubborn bravery of the peasant stock. This latter quality is commemorated to-day by the little fort in the Dolomites which bears his name, a fort which he held with forty of his men against six hundred of the enemy.

The end of the war found him, a man now of twenty-six without a profession, back in Vienna trying to earn his living and continue his studies as best he could. It was a very different Vienna and a very different Austria that he returned to : the proud, beautiful, tragic capital of an empire was now the unwieldy and swollen chief city of a tiny little State of some 6,500,000 people. Moreover, it was in the hands of the Social Democrats deadly in earnest about trying out their theories of politics and economics. Dollfuss continued his study of law, but at the same time began to organise study-circles to spread the knowledge of *Rerum Novarum* and the Catholic doctrine on social questions. In the autumn of 1919 he was invited to become Secretary of the Austrian Bauernbund (a kind of Farmers' League), and was sent immediately to Berlin to study German rural organisations. He

took the opportunity to complete his studies and so get his profession—and to fall in love and so get his wife. He returned to Austria in eighteen months and began at once the work of re-organising the farmers of his country. The next ten years of his short life were devoted entirely to this work. To-day his rural organisation is the most solid foundation on which hopes for the future of Austria can be built, as it is the nearest actual realisation of a corporative organisation in any branch of Austrian social life.

Dollfuss took the organisations he found in existence, the Bauernbund and the Genossenschaften, and constructed around them. The Bauernbund had been founded in 1906 and had developed in close association with the Christian Social Party, the mainly Catholic and anti-socialist political party of pre-war and post-war Austria. The purpose of the Bauernbund was two-fold : to unify and co-ordinate a number of small and weaker peasant associations all over the country, and to create local peasant or farmer councils to watch over the needs, rights and interests of the rural community. The present programme of our Irish society, Muintir na Tire, is almost identical with the programme of the Austrian Bauernbund. But Austrian people have never lost the feeling for corporative organisation which was characteristic of German society especially, and they quickly and almost naturally fell into the constituent groups of a rural corporative society. The Genossenschaften were purely economic associations of the nature of co-operative societies for the sale of agricultural produce and for the purchase of manures, seeds, machinery and the rest. Dollfuss saw his opportunity—it was fairly easy to see—and set about the creation of another story in the structure : he created the Chamber of Agriculture. The Lower Austrian Chamber of Agriculture was actually founded and directed by himself ; but the other Provinces—they are really semi-autonomous States—followed his model. " The function of the Chamber was, generally, to promote agrarian interests and, specifically, to provide for land, vine and fruit cultivation, live-stock breeding, dairying and afforestation. It controlled marketing. It was empowered to set up institu-

tions for agricultural research and education. It regulated the labour question, wages, housing and insurance for sickness and unemployment. Later on it was to acquire the right of pronouncing on all Bills drafted by the Federal and Provincial Diets before enactment, and its competence came in the end to cover the whole field of policy, tariffs, credit facilities, taxation and so on."[1] To it were affiliated district peasant chambers elected by the farmers and their labourers. Once more the programme of Muintir na Tire, with its Parish Guilds, its Diocesan Corporations and its Provincial Chambers of Agriculture, follows out very closely the eminently successful example of Austria. The need for such organisation in Ireland is obvious: unless the farmer helps himself, no one will help him: the model, well-tried and tested elsewhere, is there too: all that is needed is the co-operation of those who by their education or position or their need can make the attempt just as great a success in Ireland as it has been in Austria.

In March 1931 Dollfuss became Minister of Agriculture in the Federal Government: it was the official recognition of his ability and of his success. That was the year of the Crisis, which began with the collapse of an Austrian Bank, the Creditanstalt, and rapidly spread over the whole Continent. In Austria it was a stormy year in the political world, crisis following rapidly on crisis, and the country several times on the verge of revolution and of bankruptcy. Early in 1932 the National Socialist Party, the Nazis, appeared as a political force for the first time in Austria: it began to look as if Austria and Germany would be quickly fused into one great Germanic State under an omnipotent Führer and that the next World War would commence. It was at this crisis that the Federal President, Wilhelm Miklas, offered Dollfuss the Chancellorship. Dollfuss took a night to consider it, and spent that night in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament in a little church in a remote district of Vienna. The next morning he accepted and formed a Cabinet. It was May 1932—he was 40 years of

[1] J. D. Gregory: *Dollfuss*, p. 117 (Hutchinson).

age—in July 1934 he was dead ; he had but a short two years to complete his work.

When Chancellor Dollfuss faced the Parliament, he found that he had a majority of one vote. As Seipel had done before him in the early years of his rule, the new Chancellor left for Switzerland to negotiate a loan from the League of Nations. He succeeded, as well he might considering Austria's financial record, but he had to submit to two conditions : a League representative in the Austrian State Bank and the prohibition of the Anschluss movement. In August 1932, on the day after Mgr. Seipel's death, Dollfuss had to meet a vote of censure in the Parliament : it was defeated by the casting vote of the President. A treaty with France and Italy was then negotiated in September at Stresa to help Austria's foreign trade. Another vote of censure followed, defeated this time by five votes. The Socialists and the Nazis began to intensify their campaign against one another and both against Dollfuss in and out of Parliament and the Provincial Diets. Dollfuss met them with firmness and appealed to his old friends the peasants in mass meetings. In March 1933 a railway strike threatened to reduce the country to chaos : Dollfuss, by calling on the army, put it down in two hours. Then pandemonium broke out in the Parliament, making any legislative or administrative work impossible. With the sanction of the Federal President, Dollfuss calmly accepted the decision of his opponents not to co-operate in the administration of the country, closed the Parliament after a stormy nine months and began to govern without the help or hindrance which it had itself voluntarily refused to give. Inevitably and unjustly, the cry of " Dictatorship " was raised by his opponents and echoed by the whole socialist and doctrinaire Liberal Press of Europe.

The Chancellor and his Cabinet had to conduct a campaign on three fronts—political, economic and social. The political front was itself two-fold : on the one side, the extremely powerful and well-organised Austro-Marxists, with leaders of quite outstanding ability and experience ; on the other, the fresh and enthusiastic adherents of Nazi-ism, flushed with

the success of their movement in Germany. He dealt first with the Austro-Marxists: dissolved their illegal but thoroughly well-trained and armed Schutzbund, and let them know that he would not stand for any attempt at armed revolution or obstruction of the Government. At the same time he appealed direct to the workers, promising them that he would put an end to social injustice and would guarantee them freedom and respect for their rights. He failed to win them over completely, but he must have made a considerable impression on the minds of the working classes, as later events were to show. In April 1933 he found himself compelled to turn towards the Nazis: Swastikas and "Heil Hitler," to say nothing of bombs and revolvers, became too frequent in Vienna, and Dollfuss had to forbid the wearing of political uniforms or badges. There was a period of incidents with Germany, a campaign of abuse from the Munich radio station, a tax by Hitler on tourists wishing to go to Austria, more bombs and ambushes and clashes—and then Dollfuss prohibited the Nazi Party. The inevitable occurred—there was an attempt at his assassination. This merely won for him the support of a great number of people who had been more or less indifferent or opposed to him before. The personality of the tiny little man, the Milli-Metternich, simple, childlike, honest, smiling, friendly and so obviously doing his best for the good of his country, was beginning to have its effect on the mass of the people. In May 1933 he founded the Patriotic Front, a voluntary organisation, independent of all political parties and consisting of two divisions—the Civil Front and the Defensive Front. The Civil Front dealt with economic, social, propaganda and educational matters; the Defensive Front embraced all the existing defensive organisations, especially the new volunteer corps. Its purpose was to establish unity against those who merely wished to overthrow the State, and it asked from its members no surrender of their former political principles except in so far as these were incompatible with Austrian patriotism. A million citizens joined it at once, and it doubled its membership within two years—20,000 of the new members being industrial workers.

Meanwhile Dollfuss had to conduct the economic campaign. A recent book gives a short summary of his measures. "He started with acts of liberation from . . . . the peculiarly repressive measures that had been inflicted by the Socialists on the middle and lower-middle classes: restrictions on trade, financial burdens on industry, the competition of "one-price" stores, abuses in the banking administration . . . hindrances to tourist traffic—in short, all the evils that lay at the root of the prevailing discontent and impeded the whole course of business throughout the country. All these obstacles he summarily abolished, to the general relief. There had not been such swift and salutary legislation since the War."[1] His agrarian policy, which he had begun in the Bauernbund in 1919 and continued to pursue as Minister of Agriculture up to 1934, brought about an increase in the production of wheat of 115 per cent., of milk 31 per cent., of potatoes 384 per cent., and of sugar-beet 2,650 per cent. The town markets began to be filled with Austrian produce. His conviction that the peasantry formed the foundation of the national economic life was justified. Textile, paper and iron industries began to improve, and they were encouraged and assisted by the harnessing of water-power. The construction of the great mountain road across the Grossglockner gave employment to 40,000 men. Foreign trade was greatly stimulated by the Roman Protocols, which established firm economic relations with Italy and Hungary. By November 1933 "the trade balance had become more favourable: imports had fallen by 220 million schillings, while exports had risen by 10 million . . . . Unemployment had dropped from 400,000 to 278,000. The financial position was equally satisfactory. Confidence had been so far restored that the currency was now firmer than ever: the Creditanstalt had been finally put on its feet, the foreign loan had not been touched for budgetary purposes, the Budget itself had been balanced, and lastly, the internal loan, which had been over-subscribed, had been left free for productive undertakings and the relief of unemployment."[2]

[1] Gregory: *Dollfuss*, p. 311. [2] Gregory, p. 242.

With regard to the third front, possibly the most important, Dollfuss claimed as a peasant to know the natural laws of community and social life better than the Socialists. The freedom of the individual must be counterbalanced by the rights of the community as in the Genossenschaften or Co-operative Societies. Early in 1933 he began to preach the ideas of the " vocational order." In September at the German Catholic Congress in Vienna he solemnly declared his intentions with regard to the new Constitution : " We shall take as the basis of the Constitution those vocational forms and principles which are explained so well in the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. We have the ambition to be the first country in which the State has made a real response to the call of this glorious Encyclical."

But before Dollfuss could complete the draft of his Constitution, the Austro-Marxists decided to make a last appeal to arms in the hope of setting up a Socialist State à la Russia. In February 1934 they struck, chiefly in Vienna but also in other parts of the country. The Schutzbund, their private army which had been declared illegal and suppressed, turned out to be still very much in existence, fully armed and in control of the recently built workers' blocks of flats, fortress-like buildings which the Socialist Municipality had erected at the best strategic points in Vienna. For three days the fighting went on in the capital, but then the army and police, aided by the semi-Fascist Heimwehr of Staremberg and Fey, crushed the revolt. There were executions, of course, and " incidents " ; but Dollfuss used all his influence and power for mercy and conciliation. The Socialist—Austro-Marxist, practically Communist—Party was dissolved as a danger to constitutional government and Vienna was placed under a Federal Commissioner. Perhaps the most notable thing about this February revolt was the fact that Dollfuss was able to prevent the reaction carrying the whole country straight into the Nazi camp and a dictatorship under Staremberg. He himself could have been dictator then had he wished it ; but his heart was set on solving the constitutional and political problem along sociological lines, that is, by a reconstruction

f the social organisation on a vocational basis. Moreover, he elt that only so could he secure a permanent solution of the conomic problem as well. But the Nazis were not to give ıp their hopes without some attempt to get possession of he supreme power. In that attempt Dollfuss was to meet ıis death. In May 1934 the new Constitution, simultaneously vith a Concordat with the Holy See, was promulgated. The Chancellor did not live to see it in operation and to guide the first few difficult years of the new scheme. On July 25th, the feast of St. James the first martyred Apostle, ıe earned the last title of honour by which he lives to-day n the memory of his people—" The Martyr Chancellor." In ın attempted coup d'état the Government Offices were invaded ɔy armed men, and Dollfuss was mortally wounded. The kind ittle man, who had never attacked others but had always ɔought the ways of peace, died with words of forgiveness ɔn his lips. It was his enemies' cruellest blow to his and their ɔountry ; but a still crueller one came from certain foreign ɔapers which, in sheer ignorance of the facts of the case, at ɔnce raised a shout of joy that a " dictator " and an oppressor ɔf the working-man had perished. In his life-time he had ɔpposed the two great oppressors of the working man, Communism and Nazi-ism—and he perished at the hands of ɔne of them. But he left behind him one of the two great ıttempts to save human society and civilisation for Christi- ınity : a New Deal that his successor, Chancellor Schuschnigg, is now trying to guide to completion.

On the same fatal July evening that Dollfuss bled to death in the Ballhausplatz, Schuschnigg, as provisional head of the Government, broadcast a message to the people of Austria. " Austrians ! The Chancellor is dead, but his work still lives. Austria lives, and we call the world to witness that even in this hour we are and intend to remain champions of German culture and standard-bearers of our native land, and that the legacy of Dollfuss will remain our guiding star for the future."

Kurt von Schuschnigg, the present Chancellor, comes from an old Carinthian family of soldier traditions. He himself was born just forty years ago in Riva on Lake Garda in

South Tirol. He was educated by the Jesuits at Feldkirch and was just old enough to serve throughout the war. He then studied at the University of Innsbruck, where he was noted as one of the leading Catholic laymen interested in social reform on Catholic lines. He was elected a deputy in 1927, and soon after founded a youth organisation, the Ostmärkische Sturmscharen, to promote social reform and the defence of Christianity against Communism and Liberalism. Dollfuss had lived by faith and ruled by instinct rather than by intellect, his personality carrying him over many a "dead-point." He had an excellent judgment, the shrewd commonsense of his peasant ancestors, and an abiding patience and power of waiting for the right moment to act. His charm of manner and his frankness had made known to the people his great, sincere, unselfish heart, and had called forth, in the last months of his life, something like enthusiasm for him. Schuschnigg's intellectual powers, his scholarly appearance, even his great eloquence as a speaker, seemed at first inadequate substitutes for what had been lost. But gradually his qualities as a statesman and administrator have won universal recognition, and the touch of tragedy a year or two ago when he lost his young wife in a motor accident has brought him closer to the hearts of the ordinary people. He has the same patience and tolerance as Dollfuss, the same sagacity and insight, the same determination and courage.

In November 1934 Schuschnigg put the new Corporative Constitution in force. It may be of interest to sketch briefly its main outlines. At the head of the country there stands a Federal President, to symbolise the unity of the civil society which underlies all differences of opinion on accidental political questions or methods of administration. This Federal President is elected by the Burgomasters of all the Austrian communes from a list of three names submitted to them by the Federal Assembly. He holds office for seven years to ensure continuity. In him the people have, as it were, someone to whom they have given that supreme threefold power of government—legislative, executive and judicial—which they themselves received immediately from God. The President

does not exercise this threefold power himself, at least normally, but if an emergency should arise it is there to be exercised in the name of the people. Under the President, appointed by him and directly responsible to him alone and through him to the people, comes the Chancellor or Prime Minister. He proposes to the President the names of the other Ministers, and when these have been accepted by the President, they hold office by the will of the Chancellor and are responsible directly to him. This is the executive authority in the State. Next in the hierarchy of powers come four Consultative Bodies : a Council of State, nominated by the Federal President ; a Cultural Council, representing Religion, Education, Science and Art ; an Economic Council, composed of delegates from the vocational corporations ; and a Council of the Provinces (Länder), made up of the Governor of each Province (there are eight) and his financial adviser. When all four Councils meet in full strength, the resulting assembly is known as the Federal Assembly, which has certain few but vital functions : the declaration of war and the selection of candidates for the Presidency.

The Chancellor and his Cabinet prepare the draft Bills, which are then submitted for debate and amendment to the four Consultative Councils, who debate in secret and have a time limit imposed on their deliberations. Having reconsidered the Bill in the light of the opinions of the Councils, the Chancellor then presents it in its final form to another body, the Legislative Body, known as the Federal Diet. This Diet is composed of about sixty members chosen *pro rata* from the personnel of the Councils. All it has to do is to pass or reject the Bill as it now stands ; it has no power of amendment. If the Federal Diet rejects a Bill, the Chancellor may appeal back direct to the people in a Referendum. Moreover, in a " state of emergency " the Chancellor and his Cabinet may legislate and govern by decree, provided they do not change the Constitution. As a precaution and counterweight, the Federal Diet has the right to impeach the Chancellor and his Ministers before the Supreme Federal Court.

Dollfuss had desired that the Constitution should make

" Austria a social Christian German State on a corporative basis with a strong authoritative Government." He tried to keep it democratic in the best sense by giving an elected President fairly wide powers and by having the Councils selected from every branch of the country's activities. But he wanted the executive to be strong and to be able to rule with authority : and so he gave the Chancellor very great powers, but put him ultimately at the mercy of the people in a Referendum and in the Federal Court, should he try to abuse his powers. At the same time he avoided party politics in their worst sense and secured the variety and richness of views which are their justification. He managed to see that Bills would be first discussed in secret with a view to detailed improvement only, and so held up discussion on their general principle until a substantially perfect expression of that principle was attained. In other words, he has put the Committee and Report stages of the English system before the Second Reading stage. The deputies are made to take up an attitude of agreement with the proposals in the Bill and to work at its proper expression, and only then is the Bill discussed by the true legislative body, the Diet, in a Second Reading, when it must be accepted or rejected as it stands.

The corporative idea is found most strongly in two of the four deliberative Councils : the Cultural Council and the Economic Council. The first Cultural Council consisted of ten representatives of Religion (one Protestant and one Jew included), four of Science, four of Art and twenty-two of Education (teachers, parents and others)—in all forty. The Economic Council was made up of seventy or eighty members drawn from the seven recognised " vocational corporations " : Agriculture and Forestry, Industry and Mining, Crafts and Arts, Commerce, Finance and Insurance, Liberal Professions, and Public Services. These " vocational corporations " have been criticised as not being true vocations at all, and neither are they. But it is a beginning, and the true vocational organisation of the country, which will be a matter of slow growth, will come in due time.

Innsbruck, Austria BRENDAN LAWLER

# THE PRESENT CRISIS OF INTELLIGENCE*

BY REV. ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.
Professor of Philosophy, St. Stanislaus College, Tullamore

PEOPLE at present have a very vivid sense of impending disaster, not so much because of the actual disorder of the world as because that disorder is increasing and apparently must increase to an indefinite degree. Chastened by recent misfortunes, we are probably more sincere than former generations in our desires of self-reformation; yet despite all our efforts the movement of society is towards disintegration, and its fate in consequence is apparently out of the control of man. Strife between nations or classes seems unavoidable when one party is intolerably slow in meeting claims and the other intolerably insistent in making these claims; the difficulties of perfectly co-ordinating supply and demand in economics seem insuperable, not least because they are somewhat mysterious; money suddenly grows scarce without any obvious reason or without anybody's responsibility; morals are in a state of flux; science challenges the bases of religion and is itself dubious of its own conclusions; educators dispute about aims and programmes; artists are groping to find the purpose of art. That society is slowly drifting into chaos seems to us manifest; but far from manifest is the means of arresting its drift.

It was not always so. The Middle Ages began in a turmoil worse than we have ever known, and perhaps at no time did they achieve more perfect organisation than we have at present. But their tendency was towards such organisation; their movement was in the opposite direction to ours—a movement towards order. For their progress was determined by the application to reality of a philosophy to which in its main lines all adhered. Their external disorder was opposed to an internal order of the mind, a system of beliefs and of logically deduced principles of practical organisation, which the intellectual leaders of the time shared in common and were gradually contriving to impose upon the lawless world

* Adapted from a lecture to the English Society, University College, Dublin.

without. Their politics, finance, economics, education, science, religion were all founded on a metaphysical basis and on a moral philosophy that itself rested on metaphysics. And the metaphysical system thus applied, though later abandoned before it had achieved its task, was never publicly discredited for any intrinsic flaw revealed in it by analysis or experience of its results in practice. The causes of its oblivion were external to it, and oblivion itself was unmerited. Now the purpose of this article is to inquire whether it is not expedient, and perhaps necessary, for us to return to metaphysics to solve our own problems and to effect a social order that will be permanent.

First, we must make good our claim that mediaeval metaphysics was not condemned after a fair trial and on its own merits but rather in ignorance of its nature. For if it has been shown on fair trial to be intrinsically unsound, it can be of no ultimate service in solving any problem. The best defence of any philosophy is the philosophy itself, but it would be unpractical to attempt to expose a whole philosophy convincingly in a short article. Hence we must have recourse to a brief review of the historical circumstances that led to the rise of the two streams of thought which successively undermined popular faith in metaphysics. The two historical "moments" referred to are the resurrections of Nominalism first in the modified form of Terminism and later in that of Cartesianism. The facts should sufficiently explain how neither philosophy prevailed over mediaeval metaphysics because of any inherent weakness in the Scholastic system at its best, but because of external circumstances that occasioned misunderstanding of its concepts and principles or for interested motives stimulated men to revolt.

The chief factor in the fourteenth century victory of sceptical Terminism over the assured confidence of true metaphysics was the tendency to endow metaphysical concepts with a physical form, that is, the tendency to attempt to represent to the mind, in terms of the imagination, realities that can only be conceived in terms of the intellect. This habit is said, and doubtless correctly, to have grown under

the influence of the new interest in physical science. For the lore of the Arabs had wrought widespread changes in modes of thought. Their optical theories, for instance, did much to change psychology into physiology under cloak of the old terms. Their pseudo-science of alchemy (not devoid, however, of genuine achievement incidental to its experimentation) attracted many minds even amongst philosophers by its subtlety, romance, and financial promise. And since the objects of the alchemist's study are physical, these disciples gradually imported into popular if not reputable metaphysics the physical manner of conception; a philosopher will understand what is here meant by the illustration that the prime matter (*materia prima*) of Scholasticism was held to be identical with a certain refinement of quicksilver. Physical theories of light apparently verified by successful application in the manufacture of lenses, fantastic but fascinating speculations on the possibilities of aeroplanes, automobiles, and self-propelled ships (which all engrossed Roger Bacon) encouraged men to indulge in imaginable, palpable explanations of nature, which were presumed to be destructive of the old metaphysical explanations instead of being, as they were, if correct, complementary to them. The impression that metaphysics, as once understood, was obsolete was aggravated by the Scholastics themselves, who to the mystification of the public and even of each other multiplied abstractions in their explanations. They would invent a new form (considering it too as a thing rather than as a fact, physically not metaphysically) as a *deus ex machina* to solve any problem, with the result that the lucid systems they had inherited became burdened with a profusion of unintelligible technical terms. This tendency was in turn due to scholastic stagnation, a lack of ability either to emulate the critical acumen of Scotus or to advance on tradition or even to retain with exactitude and insight the traditional concepts of the thirteenth century. Content therefore with wrangling over the meanings of words, they lost the constructive impulse, the purpose of applying metaphysics to problems that were real and not merely notional. Small wonder that faith in metaphysics

was shaken, that Occam was applauded when he declared that the conclusion of any deduction is dubitable (and he meant uncertain) unless it is confirmed by experience.

These facts are serious grounds for our conclusion : (1) the philosophy rejected in favour of Terminism was an imperfect version of Scholasticism ; (2) even this philosophy was rejected under a misunderstanding and for motives external to it rather than for any intrinsic flaw of its own.

The second and more formidable attack by Nominalism was led by Descartes. His distrust of Scholasticism began when he was a boy at the Jesuit college of La Flèche. Probably his mind at the time was too immature for sound independent criticism, but in a boy of his genius we cannot assume this as certain and must explain his antagonism by a further review of the circumstances. The course in philosophy covered the last three years of his schooling in accordance with the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* that had just been published. The author was Aristotle, whose largely unsound Physics took up the whole of the second year. The author was supplemented by the comments of Fonseca and Toletus (or rather by those of St. Thomas as interpreted by these fathers) and by the comments of the professor. The later writings of Descartes show some knowledge of Scotus, Suarez, and Peter Lombard, but on the whole indicate that he had little first-hand knowledge of the great Scholastics. But what, he confesses, chiefly dismayed him was that he was taught little or nothing as certain, while conflicting opinions were each allowed to have a measure of likelihood. He can never have been acquainted with the unhesitating confidence with which, after his careful proofs, St. Thomas announces his conclusions. Perhaps his masters felt in honesty that the best reasons that boys could understand were insufficient for certainty and should not be represented as conclusive. They were not necessarily right, nor is that method necessarily the best or only one for boys. But it must be remembered that the Jesuits were pioneers at this time in their realisation of an educational ideal that was thoroughly sound in substance, the training of the intellect in boys through philosophical study. Pioneers

do not as a rule immediately hit upon a policy that is perfect even to its details. Whatever faults of detail they committed, Descartes later called the Jesuits the best teachers of philosophy in the world at that time, and he was always candid. In any case the fact, which is indubitable, is what matters here, not any defence of those concerned in it. And in contrast to the uncertainty that Descartes had learned to expect of metaphysics was the stringent conclusiveness he had found in mathematical demonstration. So he jumped to the conclusion that Scholasticism could never lead to metaphysical certainty, and he began to desire a more rigorous and mathematical demonstration than that which he took to be the Scholastic method. He left school pledged to methodic doubt, to forget all he had ever learned with a view later on, starting from a basis of pure scepticism, to seek truth for himself and accept it at last only on conclusive arguments. When at last he drew up his system, his success in forgetfulness, if less complete than he believed, had certainly been very notable.

And so history gives us serious reasons for contending that Scholasticism in this case also was abandoned in ignorance of its worth. Descartes despaired of mediaeval philosophy, whether Thomist or Scotist, without due knowledge of it, and so had not disproved it when he adopted instead his doctrine of subjectivism that was eventually to render metaphysics an outlaw for over a century. Yet when he did propose that doctrine, he met with few adversaries; for, although in his time the clear and sane system of Suarez had effected a temporary recovery for metaphysics through the Jesuit schools, its spread was hampered by the growth of the scientific spirit and of the individualism (now heightened by the Reformation) that had once helped to discredit the older Scholasticism, and it had an added obstacle in religious prejudice. Spinoza, the greatest non-Scholastic metaphysical genius in modern philosophy, shows complete misunderstanding of the real distinction between essence and existence by the form in which he defends it. Leibniz, for all his balanced judgement and profound scholarship, did not even know the doctrine of matter and form in its Thomist expression and showed no

deep knowledge of any mediaeval system but Nominalism. After his time the Scholastics were little read outside of Catholic seminaries. Kant thought he had refuted Scholasticism by his attack on Leibniz's version of the proofs for the existence of God. In short, when Descartes propagated the subjectivism that was to subvert metaphysics for so long in public esteem, none of the general public understood the case for metaphysics. It was condemned unheard.

Now, however, the course of that subversion must be indicated. Subjectivism was the Cartesian doctrine of knowledge—namely, that when we see or hear or understand anything, then *what* we see or hear and understand is not something real outside of ourselves but a picture or image of an external object in the mind. When this doctrine had been widely and almost unquestioningly adopted, David Hume pointed out that we had no right to presume the image as representative of anything whatever outside of us or as anything more than a self-created illusion of the mind; that the only possible achievement of reason, therefore, was to demonstrate its own futility. Kant endeavoured to encourage the dismayed readers of Hume by assuring them that they could at least be sure of the image, but he felt compelled to admit that the conclusions of reason to anything existing beyond the mere *appearances* of things such as we experience are delusory. Reason in fact is a false prophet, and metaphysics, indeed philosophy in general, is not a science but a method of justifying to oneself one's own purely gratuitous and unfounded beliefs.

These conclusions, as they were propagated, were accepted almost as widely as subjectivism, or at least not determinedly rejected, on the authority of their sponsors by men who could not criticise their arguments. There ensued a general distrust of pure reason and of metaphysics, its achievement; men no longer firmly believed that they could establish any truth by reason, that is, trust anything at all as true that they could not sense. "Seeing is believing," they said in their hearts; "outside of that one may believe what one likes." And so the fundamental truths, God and the human soul, and the necessary

laws founded on them were no longer admitted as valid for practical purposes. Philosophy, where it survived at all, had become a matter of bringing the eternal truths up to date. In the universities from being one of the first faculties philosophy fell into discredit, almost into disuse. From secondary education it was generally banished as an unpractical subject, wholly unprofitable to a boy's career. Even the Catholic teaching Orders, though they had not lost faith in metaphysics, felt nevertheless constrained after a struggle to yield to public apathy. And so European society as a whole doubted and forgot the practical value of the fundamental facts inherited from the wisdom of twenty centuries, and for the laws based upon those facts they substituted immediate expediency as the safest possible directive rule of action.

So ends the first part of this article, describing how Scholastic metaphysics was ostracised on false charges and in ignorance of its nature. Now we must consider how Europe fared when freed from its domination.

Briefly, as soon as the parts of society began to exercise their freedom from necessary truth and law, they—as is the nature of free parts—no longer held together. The inevitable result of that philosophical scepticism was a continual increase in disunion—not only in the internal or speculative order, where it is easily understood, but also and consequently in the external order of action. For each man acts according to his beliefs ; and, when all men have the same belief regarding the fitness of any means to a given end, they will all agree to the employment of that same means, that is, they will achieve order by co-operation. I keep the rule of the road because I believe that a traveller will meet no opposing traffic if he keeps to the left. And because all others act on the same belief, therefore there *is* no opposing traffic. Now where a conventional law, like the rule of the road, is in question, co-operation can be secured by merely spreading knowledge of the agreement already reached. But a law established by nature beyond man's power to make or mar cannot be established or known by arbitrary agreement ; the *natural* fitness of an instrument or any means for a given purpose can only

be known by knowing the instrument in its own nature—by knowing what, by its nature, it can do. Now the upshot of the revolt against metaphysics is the doubt that we can know the nature of any object in itself or consequently that we can know any law or anything that is *necessarily* so. All we know is that in the past the result of using a given means has *happened* to be so, but we do not know how far that result *had* to follow on the means, for we have no method that we can trust for determining the nature of the means. And as different people in different circumstances have seen the same course of action lead to different results without being able to determine the natures of the various causes that have produced the difference, they will all have different opinions as to what will happen if that course of action is repeated in other circumstances. Unstable opinion founded on experiment, instead of stable or necessary knowledge founded on the nature of the means, that is, metaphysical knowledge, has introduced a conflict of freelance enterprise in place of the co-operation born of unity of belief. Even if in some cases success attends the enterprise, it can only be by a measure of good fortune and at the price of many failures, and may be indefinitely withheld if the failure is disastrous. The disorder of society is the child of the mind's disorder.

Let us illustrate this general conclusion by glancing at some of the problems at present perplexing thinkers and men of action. Doubtless now as always malice is frequently a source of the disorder; but malice is ineffective unless connived at by public ignorance. Moreover men are too frightened at present by the instability of things, too sincerely anxious to cure the world's ailments, to allow us to accept malice as the principal factor in to-day's disorder. Society is threatened not so much because men will not, as because they cannot, protect it. The defect is in their intellect, not in their will. Consider first some of the problems now perplexing speculative thinkers of various kinds, whether these problems are of modern birth or are traditional; afterwards we shall consider some others in the sphere of action.

First then as to the result of an ignorance of philosophy on religious faith. We must note that men naturally look to the best minds amongst them for guidance in the formation of their beliefs. They commit to the professional thinkers those processes of reasoning for which they themselves have no time or opportunity or qualification. Often they embrace with conviction the most tentative surmises of their favourite authors. Now competent thinkers are only convinced by stringent proofs. If the means of proof be destroyed, particularly if their reason cannot justify itself to them when they question it, they dismiss all interest in those suprasensible truths that, since the breakdown of reason under its cross-examination, are held to be inaccessible, and they will confine their certain beliefs to the things of immediate experience that they physically *must* attend to here and now. Those who look to these professional thinkers for guidance will follow them into agnosticism or pass beyond them into atheism or at least falter in belief. Will not revelation and authority hold them firm ? They will not suffice to do so as a rule, for revelation and authority are themselves only proved to the hilt as valid by the metaphysical principles questioned and doubted—for instance, the validity of knowledge and the veracity of God. Indeed even when faith has been finally accepted by an educated man, it still requires some knowledge of philosophy as a safeguard. We are in no danger of doubting a truth revealed to us on authority if we have independent natural certainty of that truth. And if we have such certainty of many of the truths revealed by the same authority, our faith in the authority itself is confirmed. For if I discover for myself the truth of several events narrated to me by a given person, and never find him to have told a falsehood, my confidence in him, already perhaps undoubting, is strengthened beyond shaking. But if we lack natural certainty of any of the truths that we hold on authority, then an attack made in the name of natural reason on such a truth of faith is likely, however imprudently, to carry us beyond the doubt of that truth to doubt of the authority on which we hold it. To maintain religion in ignorance of metaphysics is a difficult

task—and unwise because unnecessary; the very attempt to do so is a relic in practice of mediaeval Nominalism with its divorce between faith and reason. For if religious faith be not founded on a basis of pure reason (even though it transcends reason) it loses the natural bulwark to the supernatural, and we need look no further for a general explanation of apostasy, religious differences, or irreligion. We need look no further for an explanation of the recent manifestations against Christianity in several European countries. Ignorance of philosophy, neglect of the culture of the reason, is both necessary and sufficient to account for the defection of any country from the Faith. For the first requisite in a Catholic is a sane intelligence.

In the spheres of the physical and aesthetic sciences the refusal to acknowledge metaphysics is producing a similar disunion. No science can hope finally to establish truth unless it is expressly conformable to the necessary laws of being and to those of its own particular object. A scientific controversy of the moment is whether all the powers of nature, including the will, are free or are all, including the will, determined. The mediaeval philosophers had no doubt whatever that the freedom of the will and the determination of all other natural powers had been finally demonstrated. If then their reasoning and their science of metaphysics are both sound, they have already solved our controversy these many centuries. Again acceptance of the laws of matter and causality would force some scientists to modify not their claims to have established certain matters of fact but many of their claims to have established the speculative inferences they have drawn from them—for example, the theory of evolution as the explanation of the material world. Similarly aesthetic criticism must always be inconclusive unless it is founded on the certain knowledge of what art is, what function it fulfils respecting human nature. Failure to answer these questions exposes us to the danger of having to read or listen to the most extravagant doctrines of art, surmises dogmatically asserted yet irrefutable because of our own ignorance, and of having the world filled with a multitude

of eccentric works that are defended by the sole claim that they are inspired, while no man possesses those fundamental critical principles that should convict them palpably of their artistic failure. But the answers to those questions on the nature of art depend on the questions of man's nature and end and so pertain indirectly to metaphysics. It is in the interest of all the sciences to reconsider the deductions of the Scholastics and incidentally the whole attitude of science towards metaphysics ; otherwise future generations may have to reverse Kant's verdict and conclude that science is not a science. Indeed Kant's own thinking would perhaps have been more fruitful had it set out from the question : Why has no other science arrived at the certainty of metaphysics ?

Now failure in the active order is the result of error in the speculative order, and incoherency of method in the one is the result of the disunion born of uncertainty in the other. For, as already pointed out, one's purpose and method in acting depend on what one believes one ought to do and how best, knowing its nature, one can do it. Ignorance of the nature of man and of his end, as revealed by metaphysics, deprives him of the only means of foreseeing with certainty what course of action will promote the welfare and happiness of such a nature, for these ensue upon the pursuit of the end. Hence follow perplexity, groping experimentation, disagreement on means, tentative and infirm execution, failure, perhaps persistent, perhaps sooner or later disastrous. Very recent events and conditions illustrate the process.

The present tangle of international politics provides a vivid fable for our moral. A philosopher remarking the growth of public apathy towards metaphysics could have foretold this crisis a hundred years ago, and it is still possible to foresee that it will eventually lead to such a dissolution of society as accompanied the fall of Rome unless we take account once more of the necessary truths of which metaphysics informs us. For if social organisation is natural to man, the fundamental laws governing relations between civil societies must be implicit in human nature and so comprised in the natural law ; only by consulting this nature can we determine

the social laws that derive from it. What are the rights and obligations of a civil society to its members and to other civil societies? How does a government acquire and how forfeit (if it can forfeit) its right to remain in office? When does a treaty entail such surrender of rights as to be exorbitant and invalid? What is a just war? What is an aggressor? What are the conditions under which a society justly acquires and holds its territory? What degree of political independence is a natural property of a civil society? All these questions are at present, or recently have been, disputed, some with artillery, all under its peril. Yet in no case have those who have offered authoritative solutions appealed to the natural law or to philosophers, and seldom have they appealed even to positive international law. Generally they have appealed to the tribunal that had promised, if necessary, to enforce acquiescence in its judgement by coercive measures. But this tribunal, the League of Nations, cannot confer natural rights by a convention; and if its award is not proved to be at least consistent with the natural law, the mulcted party will only await a suitable opportunity to have recourse to arms. No law or judgement that is not required by, or at least consistent with, the law implicit in human nature can be binding. The secret of that subjective justification, that squaring of the conscience, which in practice enables people and peoples to do what they like, is ultimately ignorance of natural law. In international disputes, in spite of arbitration, it will allow both parties to convince themselves each of the justice of his own cause. And so at bottom it will be distrust of the necessity and unchangeableness of moral principles that will leave the final solution of such a dispute impossible and its only possible final termination in the virtual destruction of one or other of its parties by arms.

Now consider the situation in sociology and economics. The obvious and outstanding problem here is how to co-ordinate the safeguarding of the rights of private property, especially amongst the richer classes, with the provision for every poor man of the means of livelihood in at least frugal comfort and according to the other conditions required by

human nature as such. Practically all the other problems of these sciences are aspects of this central one. Again its answer depends on metaphysics. For the purpose of man implies his natural needs and thus also his rights and the corresponding obligations of justice and charity on his neighbour, and so is the necessary foundation for the problem's solution; and it is metaphysics that detects this purpose and deduces its general implications. Metaphysics, as M. Maritain says, is a necessary prerequisite of ethics. Pope Leo XIII has actually given the solution of the problem in all but its details in those encyclicals in which he has set forth the same doctrine as the Scholastics on the needs of human nature with some of the corollaries of that doctrine. No one need wonder that these encyclicals have had widespread influence even outside of the Church; what is wonderful, considering the truth of their doctrine, is that their influence has not been universal, that their results have been limited. Again, surely it is distrust of metaphysics that has prevented men from seeing that the fundamental principles of the Pope are necessary and eternal truths of reason. Of those who accept his doctrine many have done so merely as the best of several possible expedients. Others, prejudiced by greed, have sought by experiment, sometimes carried out by force, to find an alternative demanding less self-sacrifice. Relatively few realise that he is here expounding a law of nature and therefore the only remedy that *can* succeed. Failure to realise this has diminished zeal amongst his followers, at least outside the Church, and has enabled his opponents to give a show of reason to their own theories. And the inevitable results are the want of co-operation and the consequent failure to solve the social problem in any sufficient measure or even to attempt a solution on a large scale, that are unsettling the whole world before our eyes.

Finally, let us consider the educational problem, not with reference to this or any particular country, but as it presents itself to-day in every country. The secret question that perturbs all modern educators is: what does the ordinary child require to know? that is: what subjects should be

taught in schools and in what proportion? The defenders of liberal education feel more or less strongly that the end of education is to perfect man as man. The knowledge that will effect this, they assume, is the knowledge that has been fouud useful for that purpose in the not too distant past, proved therefore by experience. When challenged to defend their choice of subjects for a school curriculum, their stock argument, and as a rule their weightiest, is to point to the type of man these subjects have been known to produce. But this argument is found insufficient, because experience shows that some men of the same type have been quite ignorant of these subjects. And so against liberal education has arisen a utilitarian school of educators which seems to include most parents. Its doctrine, not always acknowledged but clear enough in practice, is that a child must at all costs be trained for a profession or trade, must be given the knowledge that will be useful to him for a particular career. This doctrine at bottom implies that the last end of man is a job, for to that end it demands that the substance of his intellectual training and most of his time during it shall be devoted. A third school of educators, which puts the end of education in social loyalty and efficiency, makes a similar mistake in acting as if man's ultimate purpose were to be a good citizen, as if his end were the State itself and this his deity. It seems clear, therefore, that the first principle of liberal education is right; the basic purpose of education is to train man as man or at least to equip his chief faculty, his intelligence, for the sake of his perfection as man. But to know what knowledge is required by man as man, that is, by the law of his own nature, we must know the end of man, since all knowledge that is important is a means to attain it and is indeed, when it is of absolute importance, found to be comprised in the end itself. Only metaphysics can give a reasoned answer to the questions: What is man? What is his end? Hence only metaphysics can convincingly answer the question: What does man as man require to know? And (it is impossible to resist the forecast) the answer of metaphysics to that question would be —Metaphysics.

But in contrast to these dismal glimpses of disorder one heartening event of recent years remains to be recorded; it is the propagation of Thomism. This article does not take sides; it aims at advocating Scholastic metaphysics—Thomistic, Scotistic, or Suarezian—and not a particular system (though a Thomist may be pardoned for confessing his convictions in parenthesis). We speak here of the propagation of Thomism simply because in fact no similar effort of comparable dimensions has yet been made in our time to spread the teachings of other forms of Scholasticism. All three systems have for long been restored to flourishing vitality, and indeed have never wholly died, within the Church. But to M. Maritain must surely be given the credit of being the first philosopher in modern times to excite widespread interest amongst the general public in any Scholastic system. In that sense when he, with the able support of the Dominican Fathers, opened his great campaign about 1922, he led forth Scholasticism in its most uncompromising form from the catacombs. Though exhibited to a still-prejudiced world, it almost at once made converts—some all the way to the Church, some at least to Thomistic philosophy or to some of its tenets, all of them (and they included all thoughtful reading men) to a sudden startled respect for Scholasticism. Observe that M. Maritain set out to present the whole metaphysical system of Thomism and the arguments on which it was founded unchanged in any material point from the traditional interpretation of St. Thomas's doctrine. Observe too that more than six centuries for possible advance in knowledge had intervened in which to find what flaws there might be in the system. Yet so unshaken in attack have its metaphysics proved, and so negligible and few its errors outside of metaphysics, that it is still increasing its sway. No other system, not Platonism resurrected during the Renascence nor Kantianism in the late sixties, has ever in its entirety been revived successfully and after such a length of time. Can we explain these facts except on the supposition that in the foundations of Scholasticism men have somehow divined the unchanging truth?

Now, before proceeding to our final conclusion, the substance of this article hitherto may be roughly systematised in the following propositions :—

1. Metaphysics is the science of the fundamental and necessary truth of being and so of the laws that underlie all other laws, physical, moral, or civil.

2. If it is not respected, then no general affirmation, no affirmation except of the concrete individual fact of experience, can be known as necessarily true nor, consequently, will command universal agreement.

3. Thus already the disregard of metaphysics accounts sufficiently for divergence of belief in speculative matters, in religious faith, in scientific theory—in all knowledge, in fact, outside of the data of immediate experience.

4. In external action the first effect of ignorance of necessary law will be inefficiency of execution due to uncertain experimentation ; for the success of a course of action depends on its conformity with necessary truth and law. If these are not known, it will be impossible to foretell what policy will succeed, for it will be impossible to determine beforehand what policy is in accordance with the law. Recourse must, therefore, be had to experiment and experience of its result to discover the correctness of any solution to a given problem. Only by extraordinary good luck will the first solution tried be the right one. And so normally experimentation will meet with failure after failure, perhaps at last with ruinous failure. To rely wholly on experiment is to confine one's knowledge of the most disastrous mistakes possible to the experience of their effects. Amongst the experimental solutions at present on trial are war, communism, state-despotism, widely diverse educational aims and methods, moral innovations, all generally advocated by arguments that ignore the end of man and the laws of human nature.

5. The second effect of ignorance of necessary law, also due to experimentation, will be social discord and disorganisation. For, since no certain means is to hand of discerning beforehand a solution to any problem that will be finally successful, or at least of discerning those solutions that must fail eventually because inconsistent with nature, different people will have widely different opinions on what should be done and no one will be able to prove to the others that he alone is right. So far as he can, therefore, each will tend to execute his own plan and to refuse co-operation with those who dissent from him. Hence will ensue divergence of immediate aims, conflicting interests, new disputes, and no effectual way of settling them.

6. If metaphysics be a false science, then there remains no way of convincing men of their unnecessary and fatal error in neglecting

abstract truth ; acceptance of revelation will save them from religious error indeed ; but if they accept neither revelation nor metaphysics, there remains no conclusive way of convincing them even of revelation.

7. History, however, affords strong evidence (though stronger is available) that metaphysics is not a false science : its universal application brought increasing union and order to the Middle Ages ; it was never discredited on its own merits ; it has been recently restored to public notice and has sustained, in its Thomistic form, the attacks made on it.

8. Metaphysics, therefore, is a valid science so far as historical experience can prove it so ; and if it is valid, its propagation amongst the leaders of the people, the educated classes, is the only efficacious way of establishing order and stability in society.

These words anticipate our crowning conclusion—which, speculatively considered, is that the only way to save our civilisation is to make human reason itself the dictator of the world ; and for human reason the radical science of government is metaphysics. Practically considered, therefore, our conclusion is that metaphysics must be restored to secondary education as the only effective means of making it current among educated men. This article, however, only proposes this conclusion in principle. It does not discuss how best a thorough metaphysical course can be introduced into an already overcrowded programme, whether by increasing the hours of teaching and study, or by ousting or shortening some of the subjects now taught, or (without changing the existing course) by raising the age for leaving school for the university and adding on the course in metaphysics after the present curriculum. It only contends in general that the introduction of Scholastic metaphysics is necessary and is worth any sacrifice therefore that it can entail. It is not hard to foresee, however, that the sacrifice could not be enormous even in terms of money.

The case for the introduction of Scholastic philosophy into Irish secondary schools is particularly strong. It is, firstly, the only proper foundation for a Catholic polity, and if that polity is a democracy founded on the people, then the people who rule must embody that philosophy in their policy. Secondly, Ireland is recovering complete control of her des-

tinies. To make the nation able to use its freedom in a way worthy of its Catholic past it must have an ideal to aim at and must know how to solve the problems that lie between it and its ideal. It cannot, however, construct any firm ideal nor make sure of its future destiny, unless there is in the educated classes, who lead the country, a fund of sound philosophical knowledge, that is, of Scholastic metaphysics. For Ireland must be rich in the things that most matter, and these are investigated by Scholasticism. It is especially at a time of transition to a new freedom that metaphysical principles are necessary to direct the use of that freedom. Lastly, metaphysics makes possible a nobler ambition than perhaps we have ever entertained for this country. There is a present opening for a great nation that, by its prescient direction, will lead the rest out of their panic. The wisdom of its leadership will be founded on its assured possession of the truth. It is, therefore, likely to be a Catholic nation; one sees no reason why it should not be Ireland. The only necessary condition for such intellectual leadership (to day more than ever the most powerful kind of leadership) is, if our case be sound, that Ireland adopts Scholastic philosophy as basic education, the one and only *essential* subject for all educated Irishmen. That will ensure a basis of genuine wisdom for our whole policy; wisdom will beget success, and success imitators. I leave down the pen in the hope that someone who is interested in Catholic Action may take up the argument.

Arthur Little

# HENRY GEORGE AND THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND

BY THE REV. LEWIS WATT, S.J.
Professor of Ethics, Heythrop College, Oxon.

IN the advertisement columns of *The Spectator* and *The New Statesman* there are appearing weekly long extracts from a book which was published nearly sixty years ago and which has been translated into German, French, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Hungarian, Russian and Chinese.[1] This book is *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George, and when the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain published the fifty-second anniversary edition it claimed that over three million copies had been sold. This is a remarkable record for a book concerned with social economics, and indicates that George's teaching, whatever its value, has corresponded to a widespread dissatisfaction with our social system. Not less remarkable is the fact that a lecturer on social questions, addressing Catholic audiences in Great Britain, will frequently be requested by one of his hearers to give his opinion about the doctrines of Henry George, though an eminent Catholic American sociologist, in a letter to the present writer, recently stated that Georgeism " has been pretty dead in the United States for a long time."

In New Zealand the official organ of the Commonwealth Land Party (Georgeist) claims that, after conversations with one who " has been authorised to expound and interpret the Encyclical " (*Quadragesimo Anno*), it has been made clear that there is no conflict between Catholic social doctrine and the doctrines of Henry George. The editor continues with the following remarkable appeal : " We would ask those chiefly concerned in expounding the Catholic Social Doctrines to say to their classes that private property in the Natural Resources is against such doctrine, and further is against both the Moral

[1] *The Philosophy of Henry George* by G. R. Geiger. The Macmillan Co. 1933, p. 55, note 44.

and the Economic Laws.[1]" Such a conclusion is enough to show that there has been some misunderstanding of Catholic doctrine on the part of the editor. He might indeed have suspected it, had he been familiar with the writings of representative Catholic sociologists, for Georgeism is rejected by the Americans Mgr. John Ryan, Professor O'Hara (both of the Catholic University of America) and Father Burke, by the Belgian Père Fallon, by the French Père Antoine, by the English Devas, and by the German Fathers Pesch and Cathrein. Against these names can be set only those of four professors of the Catholic University of America last century, about whom more will be said later.

Catholic followers of Henry George in Great Britain, when confronted with (say) the teaching of *Rerum Novarum* on the right of private property in land, are accustomed to reply that George does not deny this right, and to prove that George's doctrine is perfectly compatible with that of Leo XIII they appeal to what has become known as the McGlynn Case. It may be worth while to examine these claims.

First of all, however, it will be well to give a brief biography of Henry George. He was born at Philadelphia in 1839 and died at New York in 1897. His parents were poor, and he had to leave school at fourteen to work as an errand-boy. For a short time he was a sailor, then a typesetter and a printer. In 1861 he married a Catholic of Irish and English descent, born in Sydney. They settled in California, where George worked as a reporter. This was the period of the land boom. The State of California disposed of all its landed property in eighteen years, and the railways obtained from the Federal authorities more than sixteen per cent. of the entire area of the State. The rush to the Californian gold mines quickly increased the population of the State, and this sent up the value of land. Moreover, the trans-continental railway was completed in 1869, and speculators bought up such free land as there was. In future the workers no longer had, as an alternative to wage-labour, the possibility of cultivating free land, with the consequence that wages fell. In 1870 a

[1] *The Commonweal of New Zealand*, September, 1934.

strong agitation against land monopoly began in California, and George published a pamphlet advocating that a tax should be levied on the value of land in order to absorb the unearned increment due to speculation. His most famous book, *Progress and Poverty*, was published in 1879, and George was invited to lecture in the United States and Canada. He also lectured for the Irish Land League, having met Michael Davitt in the United States in 1880. In 1881 he was sent to Ireland as correspondent of *The Irish World*, and at this time lectured in Dublin, Glasgow and London. He met Hyndman, Spencer, Chamberlain and Bright, and aroused G. B. Shaw's interest in social questions. He returned to the States in the following year, but he had found his *métier* as a lecturer and undertook four more British tours between 1884 and 1889, as well as one in Australia in 1890. His literary output included *Social Problems* (1883), *Protection or Free Trade* (1886), a reply to *Rerum Novarum* entitled *The Condition of Labour* (1891), an attack on Spencer as being *A Perplexed Philosopher* (1892), and an unfinished work on political economy published posthumously. None of these books achieved the same fame as *Progress and Poverty*, but the reply to Leo XIII must receive our special attention later.

## (I)

George's purpose in writing *Progress and Poverty* was " to seek the law which associates poverty with progress and increases want with advancing wealth." [1] Appealing to experience, he asks us to notice that the deepest poverty is to be found precisely where the conditions to which material progress everywhere tends are most fully realised; that is to say, where population is densest, wealth greatest, and the machinery of production and exchange most highly developed. The lowest class does not share in the benefits of material progress. " The tendency of what we call material progress is in no wise to improve the condition of the lowest class in the essentials of healthy, happy human life. It is to depress still further the condition of the lowest class. It is as though

[1] *Progress and Poverty*, Introductory chapter.

an immense wedge were being forced, not underneath society, but through society. Those who are above the point of separation are elevated, but those who are below are crushed down." [1] Above this wedge are the owners of land, below it are all other classes of the population. "The cause which gives to the landholder is the cause which denies to the labourer and capitalist." [2] All production is the fruit of two factors, land and labour. If the share of the product which goes to the landowner in the form of rent is increased, the share which goes to labour in the form of wages or of interest on capital (which is stored-up labour [3]) is necessarily decreased. Now the effect of material progress is to increase the relative share of the product taken by the landowner; and the great problem of progress and poverty is solved. "The reason why, in spite of the increase of productive power, wages constantly tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living, is that, with increase in productive power, rent tends to an even greater increase, thus producing a constant tendency to the forcing down of wages. All the advantages gained by the march of progress go to the owners of land, and wages do not increase. As land increases in value, poverty deepens and pauperism appears." [4]

In proving his theory that the landlord is the villain of the piece, George relies chiefly on Ricardo's Law of Rent,[5] which (he claims) "has been accepted by every economist of standing and which, like a geometrical axiom, has but to be understood to compel assent." [6] He enunciates that law as follows: "The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use." [7]

Briefly, the essence of the Ricardian theory of rent is

[1] *Op. cit.* [2] *Op. cit.* bk. 3, ch. 8. [3] *Op. cit.* bk. 3, ch. 1.

[4] *Op. cit.* bk. 5, ch. 2. The whole tenor of George's argument implies that wages fall quantitatively, *i.e.* to subsistence level; but elsewhere he admits that there may be no quantitative fall in wages as a result of progress, but merely no rise in wages; cp. bk. 3, ch. 6.

[5] David Ricardo (1772-1823), a millionaire London stockbroker, published *The Principles of Political Economy* in 1817. He was opposed to the ruling policy of protection and the political influence of the landlords.

[6] *Op. cit.*, bk. 3, ch. 7. "Twentieth-century text-books either say nothing about the Ricardian theories or adopt a very apologetic tone in describing such parts and versions of them as they think most plausible." Cannan, *A Review of Economic Theory*, p. 249.

[7] *Op. cit.*, bk. 3, ch. 2.

that it is a differential gain, due to the fact that the return to a given amount of capital and labour applied to the cultivation of land is higher on more fertile land than on less fertile land, and that, owing to the law of diminishing returns, successive applications of similar amounts of capital and labour to a tract of land do not (*ceteris paribus*) give similar returns. According to Ricardo, the price of agricultural produce, as of other things, is determined by that amount of capital and labour (required to fulfil effective demand for the produce) which is applied under the most unfavourable natural conditions. This price obviously leaves in the hands of those who produce under better natural conditions a balance over their outgoings. It is this balance which is appropriated by the landowners in the form of rent, defined by Ricardo as " that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil." [1] Rent, then, does not play any part in determining the price of agricultural produce, but is itself determined by that price. " Corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high," he says.

This is not the place for a discussion of Ricardo's theories, but in view of the importance which George attaches to the Ricardian law of rent it is surprising to find him emphatically denying the law of diminishing returns, first of all because matter and force are indestructible, and secondly because an increased population means an increased power of labour; neither of which arguments is relevant.[2]

The rate of return to capital and labour, George argues, is determined, under free competition, by their productivity when applied to " the least productive land in use or at the least productive point, where, of course, no rent is paid ".[3] If, in any concrete instance, more than this is obtained, the balance will be appropriated by the landowners in the form of rent. Now, all material progress increases demand for the products of the land, and thereby compels recourse either to

[1] *Principles*, ch. 2. Ricardo here expressly excludes from rent any payment for capital employed in improving the land, but he changes his mind later; see note to ch. 18.

[2] *Progress and Poverty*, bk. 2, ch. 3 and 4; bk. 4, ch. 2.

[3] *Op. cit.* bk. 3, ch. 2.

inferior land, hitherto uncultivated, or to less profitable cultivation of land already in use.[1] The result is to increase the amount of rent received by landlords and to reduce the rewards of capital and labour.[2]

Here one is at once struck by the fact that George has overlooked the conclusion expressly drawn by Ricardo from his law of rent—*viz.* that rent is determined by prices, not *vice-versa*. If capital and labour are in a position to pay rent for land which previously they used rent-free, it is because the price they receive for their product has risen and so left them with a surplus over outgoings. They are therefore placed in no worse position by paying rent than they were in before. The landlord may be better off because the productive instrument which he owns is in greater demand, but it does not follow that capital and labour are worse off.

Nor can one admit George's theory that all material progress increases the demand for land or rent. Inventions in manufacture may simply improve the quality of goods, without increasing their quantity and thereby the demand for natural products. Improvements in transport, by bringing new land into cultivation, may throw inferior land out of use and thereby reduce the rent of other land. A similar result is achieved by improvements in agricultural technique.

Finally, his claim that only landlords have benefited by material progress is refuted by experience. Dissatisfied as one may reasonably be with the distribution of wealth in "advanced" countries, it is impossible to deny that the standard of living of the workers has advanced; and if one considers the other great class which, according to George, is on the lower side of "the wedge" driven through society, the industrial and financial capitalists, no one would soberly maintain that they have not reaped abundantly from the material progress of the last hundred years. As to the landlord class, some have gained, some have lost, according to the demand for the use of their land or for its products.

[1] The inconsistency of this statement with George's denial of the law of diminishing returns has been pointed out by John Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, 4th ed., p. 481, one of the best examinations of George's economics.

[2] *Op. cit.* bk. 4, ch. 1, 2 and 3.

## (II)

Satisfied that he has made out his case, George proceeds to indicate the remedy for "the enigma of our times," the association of progress with poverty. It would be perfectly just, he states, to declare all land public property and then to let it out to the highest bidder. But this would involve a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought and a needless extension of governmental machinery. For the State to purchase private property in land would be unjust; to confiscate it, needless. All that need be confiscated is rent (in Ricardo's sense of the word). Present occupiers may be left in possession "of what they are pleased to call *their* land." They may be allowed to buy and sell, to bequeath and devise it. "We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel." In this way, the State would become the universal landlord without calling itself so.[1]

This, in George's opinion, is the sovereign remedy for most of our social evils.

"The simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government and carry civilisation to yet nobler heights, is—*to appropriate rent by taxation.*"[2]

A further advantage, he holds, would be that no other taxes would be necessary; the entire expenses of government are never more, and "in the better developed countries" much less, than would be produced by the Single Tax upon land.[3] This last statement has naturally been severely attacked by George's critics, and has been doubted by such a convinced Georgeist as the late Dr. J. F. Muirhead.[4]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. 8, ch. 2.

[2] *Op. cit.* bk. 8, ch. 2. (Italics George's).

[3] *Loc. ult. cit.* In *The Condition of Labour* he endeavours to convince Pope Leo XIII that the Single Tax is the divinely ordained method of raising the State's revenue.

[4] *Land and Unemployment* (Oxford University Press, 1935). "The expression 'Single Tax,' associated with George's name, indicated the belief that this tax would make all others useless. It is doubtful whether (as conditions now are) this would prove to be correct." (p. 4).

Although in his later lectures George insisted chiefly on the Single Tax as a remedy for poverty, in *Progress and Poverty* he stresses another aspect of his "remedy"—*viz.* that it would lead to the abandonment or sale at nominal prices of "millions and millions of acres from which settlers are now shut out by high prices." Access to the land being thus thrown open to the workers, employers would be forced to raise industrial wages if their employees were not to desert them for a life on the land as independent cultivators.[1]

It is not clear why it would be the workers who would obtain the use of the land which its owners decided, under pressure of taxation, to throw upon the market. It would be bought by those who could best afford to pay for it—capitalists rather than workers. Further, in a country like Great Britain, where, as George admits (Bk. 8, ch. 1), the greater part of the land is in the hands of tenants, the result of state confiscation of rent would merely be to transfer the rent from the landowner to the Treasury, leaving the tenants in occupation. Even the deer-forests, which George alleges would be thrown open to cultivation (Bk. 9, ch. 1), are in the hands of tenants, who would simply go on paying their rent to the State instead of to the landowner. But let us suppose that a great deal of land *were* thrown open to occupation by the workers, still there is not an unlimited amount of land to provide workers with an alternative to industrial employment—even supposing that the worker on the land could make more money than the industrial employee, a supposition contradicted by George's account of the low standard of life of the French and Belgian peasants (Bk. 6, ch. 1).

(III)

"If private property in land be just, then is the remedy I propose a false one; if, on the contrary, private property in land be unjust, then is this remedy the true one," wrote George (Bk. 7, ch. 1). On George's own admission, then, his proposals stand or fall according as private property in land

[1] *Op. cit.*, bk. 9, ch. 1. George is hostile to the multiplication of small holdings under the present system of property in land; bk. 6, ch. 1.

is unjust or just. Naturally, his own opinion is : " Whatever may be said for the institution of private property in land, it is plain that it cannot be defended on the score of justice. There can rightfully be no exclusive possession and enjoyment of anything not the production of labour, and the recognition of private property in land is wrong. . . Natural justice can recognise no right in one man to the possession and enjoyment of land that is not equally the right of all his fellows." [1] His proof of this statement is that nothing can give an original title to ownership but labour. Every rightful claim to own private property has its source, ultimately, in labour. He immediately goes on to say that a man who digs metal from the ground is the rightful owner of it ; just as in *The Condition of Labour*, after saying that the right of property " attaches to things produced by labour but cannot attach to things created by God," he immediately proceeds to maintain that a man who takes a fish out of the ocean acquires a right of property in that fish. But as neither the metal nor the fish is the product of labour, George seems to be getting dangerously near to those who include the exertion of " occupying " a thing among the titles to ownership. Such an approach would be dangerous for George because he explicitly rejects the title of first occupancy, calling it " the most absurd ground on which landownership can be defended." To avoid this, he ventures a little into metaphysics : " Since the changes in which man's production consists inhere in matter so long as they persist, the right of private ownership attaches the accident to the essence and gives the right of ownership in that natural material in which the labour of production is embodied." [2]

This argument exposes a weak flank, for it leads directly to the conclusion that one who has expended labour in improving a piece of land has the right to own the land, a conclusion which George explicitly repudiates in *Progress and Poverty*, bk. 7, ch. 1. To cover this weak flank, George stresses the fact that natural products, after a longer or shorter time, disintegrate and return to the " storehouse of nature," so

[1] *Op. cit.* bk. 7, ch. 1, which is full of similar passages.
[2] *The Condition of Labour* (1934 ed.), p. 43.

that ownership of them is " in reality a mere right of temporary possession . . . and thus the ownership of them by one works no injury to others." But, he adds, man cannot own the land, for that is the reservoir from which men must draw raw materials and " even their very bodies." His argument appears to be that private ownership of natural products does no one any harm, whereas private ownership of the land would prevent men from having free access to raw materials. So, after all, it is not because land is a gift of God and not the product of human labour that its private ownership is wrong, nor does labour always confer a title to its product. George's real objection to private property in land is that " the denial of the equal right to the use of land is necessarily the denial of the right of labour to its own produce," for unless the use of the land is free the labourer working on it is robbed of part of the produce of his labour by the landowner.[1]

This, of course, either assumes what had to be proved, that only labour can give a title to property and that private landownership is unjust; or implies that no one has a right to charge for the use of instruments put at the disposal of one who labours, which is complete socialism and as such rejected by George.

Though we may wonder at the weakness of George's " proofs " that private landownership is unjust, there can really be no doubt as to the strength of his conviction that it is. Nevertheless, some Catholics have convinced themselves that he goes no further than Leo XIII and Pius XI have gone. Two points seem to have influenced them in coming to this conclusion. First, that George frequently associates the word " exclusive " with the right of property in land which he denounces; and secondly, that he proposes to leave occupiers of land in full possession, with liberty to " buy and sell, to bequeath and devise it," subject to payment of rent to the State. It is true that he considers he is thus leaving to the landholders the shell, while the State takes the kernel; but may it not be argued that he has really conceded to them all that is included under the term " right of private property,"

[1] *Progress and Poverty*, bk. 7, ch. 1.

and that his proposals really amount to nothing more than a land tax ?

One may be brief about the word " exclusive." This word, for George, has not the meaning of " irresponsible " or " absolute " in the bad sense, for he warmly accepts an " exclusive right of property " in the fruits of labour. It merely means " individual," " against all the world," " private,' terms which he uses interchangeably with " exclusive." The matter is put beyond doubt by a sentence in *The Condition of Labour* (1934 ed. p. 155) : " Men have made land private property, and thus given into the exclusive possession of the few the provision that a bountiful Father has made for all."

Nor does George concede any right of private property in land in the Catholic sense. (He himself uses the term " right of private possession " for what he concedes to landholders.[1]) Passages already quoted [2] make it plain that the State has a perfect right to confiscate all land. As a matter of expediency, landholders are to be left in possession as state tenants. In other words, the right of property in land which he concedes to individuals is not a natural right, but a state concession. This is in direct conflict with Catholic teaching.

## (IV)

So far George's argument has been that God gave men an equal right to the use of land in order that they may enjoy the full fruit of their labour. Private ownership of land is opposed to this, and must be abolished. The most expedient method of doing this is to oblige individual occupiers of land to hand over to the State the value of the land. This will " satisfy the equal rights of all other members of the community." [3]

But he also employs another argument to justify the confiscation of land-values—*viz.* that they are produced by the community and therefore belong to it.[4] This " unearned increment " argument has appealed to many to whom the

[1] *Cp.* for example *The Condition of Labour*, p. 6.
[2] From *Progress and Poverty*, bk. 8, ch. 2.
[3] *Loc. ult. cit.*
[4] *Op. cit.* bk. 7, ch. 4. *Social Problems*, ch. 19. *The Condition of Labour*, pp. 16, 17.

rest of George's theories mean nothing, and has been extended to cover other property besides land.

When it is alleged that the community creates land-values, the truth of the statement can only be assessed if several distinctions are made. If the values in question are values-in-exchange (or prices), then evidently a " community " of at least two people, a buyer and a seller, is required to create them ; if they are values-in-use (*i.e.* the utility of land), they can exist in the absence of any " community." If the " creation " of land-values means their increase, then the growth of a community can increase the utility of land either by affording new openings for the use of land (*e.g.* for shops, offices, omnibus and railway stations) or by increasing the security, amenities or convenience of its use (*e.g.* by organizing a police, making roads, laying sewers, gas and water mains). It can increase the value-in-exchange of land both by increasing its utility and by increasing the demand for land.

It may be admitted that the central or local governing authority has the right to impose taxation on landowners for the increase of land-value due to positive contributions in the form of security, convenience, etc. ; but it has no claim to the increase due to an increased demand. This latter increase is in no true sense " produced " by the community ; to assert that it is, leads logically to the assertion that the community has the right to the exchange-value of everything since this value depends on demand. With regard to the remaining way in which the presence of a community increases the value of land (by affording new openings for its use), it is to be noted that the existence of the land in question is as important to the life and activities of the community as these are to the landowner. His claim on the community for the contribution made by his land to the general welfare balances any claim the community may have for an increase in land-value. The increased value of his land is due to its increased utility to the community, and is not the fruit of any special exertions on the part of the community, which would carry on its activities just the same were the land not there at all, save in so far as the absence of the land would deprive the

community of the advantages its presence confers. There would be other objections to urge here against the theory of the social creation of land-values, were it not that they have been frequently put forward by George's critics.[1]

(V)

Twelve years after the publication of *Progress and Poverty* there appeared the famous encyclical of Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*. When we compare the passages in the encyclical which treat of private property in land with George's doctrines, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Leo XIII intended to reject Georgeism. "The doctrines attacked are labeled 'socialistic,'" writes Geiger (*op. cit.* p. 362), "but they are essentially those of George." Cardinal Manning took the encyclical to be directed against George, and the same impression was made on George himself. "I regard the encyclical letter as aimed at us, and at us alone almost," he wrote in a letter quoted by Geiger (p. 363), and it was this impression which caused him to write *The Condition of Labour*, his "Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII," in which he says: "Your Encyclical will be seen by those who carefully analyse it to be directed, not against Socialism, which in moderate form you favour, but against what we in the United States call the single tax." We shall say shortly that later events resulted in George changing his opinion.

It was a mistaken change, as anyone can see who compares the teaching of Leo XIII with that of George. Against George's repudiation of the right of private property in land, we have the assertion of Leo that "man not only should possess the fruits of the earth, but also the very soil." Against George's argument that God gave the land to mankind and that therefore private ownership of land is unjust, Leo says: "The fact that God has given the earth for the use and enjoyment of the whole human race can in no way be a bar to the owning of private property. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can

[1] See, for example, Mgr. John Ryan's *Distributive Justice*.

deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it was assigned to anyone in particular and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and by the laws of individual races." When George asserts that the labour involved in improving the land gives no title to the land itself, Leo replies : " When man turns the activity of his mind and the strength of his body towards procuring the fruits of nature, by such act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates." George maintains that when it is impossible to distinguish improvements from the land, the right to the improvements is lost. Leo teaches that, on the contrary, the right to them requires private ownership of the improved land. Leo recommends an extension of private landownership ; George is opposed to it. It may be added that George's scornful denunciation of first occupancy as a title to landownership is in conflict with *Quadragesimo Anno*.

(VI)

The contradiction between papal teaching and Georgeism is so flagrant that it is worth while explaining why George came to think that his first impression of it had been mistaken. The story forms a curious chapter in the history of Catholicism in the United States. In 1886, the rector of a Catholic Church in New York, Dr. Edward McGlynn (1837-1900), was suspended and then removed by Archbishop Corrigan on account of his opposition to parochial schools and, particularly, because of his advocacy of George's doctrines. He was called to Rome but refused to go, pleading ill-health. He wrote to the Archbishop : " I have taught and shall continue to teach as long as I live that land is rightfully the property of the people in common, and that private ownership of land is against natural justice . . . and I would bring about, if I could, such change of laws all the world over as would confiscate private property in land, without one penny of compensation to the miscalled owners." [1] In 1887 he was again summoned to Rome, and was given forty days in which to obey. He again

[1] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

refused and was excommunicated. All this time he was actively supporting George's propaganda by lectures and addresses. The Archbishop appealed to the Congregation of the Index to proscribe *Progress and Poverty*, but Cardinal Gibbons intervened to prevent this, on the ground that the condemnation would advertise the book, and because its errors had been "amply refuted by able theologians". In 1891 appeared *Rerum Novarum*, which may be considered to be the condemnation of Georgeism which the Archbishop had hoped to obtain from the Congregation of the Index. That closes the first scene of this unhappy affair.

The second scene opens with the arrival of Archbishop Satolli in the United States as Papal Delegate in 1892. Dr. McGlynn submitted to him a statement of his views, a statement which Georgeists claim to be in full agreement with their theories. Mgr. Satolli, who was living at the Catholic University at Washington, submitted it to four professors of that University for their opinion. They declared that it contained nothing contrary to Catholic teaching. Thereupon Mgr. Satolli declared that Dr. McGlynn was free from ecclesiastical censures and restored to him the exercise of his priestly functions. Three weeks later (January 1893), Mgr. Satolli published a statement in which he said that Dr. McGlynn had presented a brief statement of his opinions on moral-economic matters, and that it was judged "not contrary to the doctrine constantly taught by the Church, and as recently confirmed by the Holy Father in the Encyclical *Rerum, Novarum*." In the following June Dr. McGlynn visited Rome and received Leo XIII's blessing. He was placed in charge of St. Mary's Church, Newburg, where he died.

These appear to be the facts of this case.[1] What conclusion is to be drawn from them? In an article in the New York *Sun* during January 1893 George explained that when Leo XIII wrote *Rerum Novarum*, he did not understand Georgeism but that the reinstatement of Dr. McGlynn made it clear that Leo had only condemned "the grotesque misrepresentations of it (Georgeism) that were evidently at first presented to

[1] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 343-357.

the Pope." Geiger [1] considers the McGlynn episode to be "one of those rare instances when Rome has voluntarily reversed itself"—probably "on the grounds of general church policy, for Dr. McGlynn's punishment had created a decided schism in the ranks of New York and even of American Catholicism." This implicitly admits that Leo XIII *did* condemn George's theories of land ownership; and the explanation of Mgr. Satolli's action seems not unlikely, whether one approves of that action or not. But the allegation that the Catholic Church had "reversed itself" on a matter of moral principle is, of course, incredible.

What is certain is that no official spokesman of the Church has ever said that Catholics could hold George's theory of landownership. As to the four professors at Washington (quite apart from the fact that they were not official spokesmen of the Church), they never explicitly said that Georgeism is compatible with Catholic doctrine. All they did say was that Dr. McGlynn's statement of his views contained nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine.[2] That statement, which dealt chiefly with taxation of "unearned increment," slurred over the question of a natural right to private property in land, and was, no doubt, understood by them not to deny that right. In any case their decision has no binding force and, as mentioned above, has not influenced Catholic sociologists to accept Georgeism.

Nothing in this examination of Henry George's doctrines must be taken as excusing exploitation of the needs of the community by landowners, or as denying the duty of landowners to contribute, by just taxes, to the public revenue.

LEWIS WATT

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 343, 370.

[2] The statement is printed at the end of the 1934 edition of George's *The Condition of Labour*.

# SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY REV. LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

## XLI

## LET ÉIRE BE UNITED

To Ó Cearbhaill, Lord of Éile (*vv.* 17, 34) *i.e.* Maolruanaidh, son of Tadhg (*v.* 32), who died A.D. 1443 (F.M.). Róis (*vv.* 27, 31) was the name of his mother, and Sadhbh (*v.* 32) was probably that of his wife. Oilill, a descendant of Éibhear, had by his wife Sadhbh (*v.* 17) several sons, one of whom, Eoghan Mór (*v.* 14), was ancestor of Clann Carthaigh &c.; another was Cormac Cas, whose descendant Cáirtheann (*vv.* 3, 7) was ancestor of Clann Táil (*v.* 5) *i.e.* Í Briain &c.; and a third was Cian, whose descendant Connla (*v.* 28) was ancestor of the Í Cearbhaill. The Luighne (*v.* 26) were also descendants of Cian. In this poem Ó Cearbhaill is urged to seize Caiseal, unite the men of Munster and his kinsmen the Luighne, and then drive the Goill out of Ireland. The descendants of Conn Céadchathach, *i.e.* the Northerns, will also help him in this task, being mindful of the help which Cian and the other sons of Oilill gave Art Aoinfhear at the battle of Magh Mucroimhe.

TAOS ÓS Ó hUIGINN ECT;

1. Déanaid comaonta a chlann Éibir
bud iomda i n-agaid dur gclann
náir gan dul gcungnamh re céile
urlamh mbáig an ghléire Gall.

2. Fada a-táid fa doraid aoltа
iad Mumhan na maoileann dte
an Mide ar dtreabhadh a tulach
dleagar chide dubhach de.

3. Fear a coranta i gcloinn Eogain
ná agaid féin féachaid rin
ó nach faicim a chlann Cáirtinn
aicill Gall do fáidfinn fid.

4. Cior na dtuath i dtimcheall Cairil
do chat eachtrann ir hé ar lón
nár do thairid na fíog fomhaid
fíon Cairil oraid gá ól.

5. A-tá ag Gallaid an ghlar céadna
ar chloinn Táil gá thuaighe ceas
ní fuil acht deorad i ndaoirse
d'fuil Eogain don taoid-re tear.

6. Cóir ag Gaoidheal i nGort Bandha
dá mbé tar fear don fén Gall
nocan fagair ní act ar éigin
go dtí cabair éigin ann.

7. Do cuireadh i gcnocaib fléibe
fíol Cairpthinn do chíc a fean
a-táid fíol Céin ar an gcon-rain
gá ndíon féin i n-orcail fead.

8. Dul ar ciomradh do chíoc leathan
ní leagar dúinn doirb an ruaig
a Mumha dá mbeam fan bann-ra
do b'fearr dula ar amra uaid.

9. Ní tuirim mé méad ar mbroide
tre Bandha do beit gan fíg
an bruil aoinfear re buidh ionradh
d'fuil Gaoidheal a dionghail dinn.

10. An glar i bruil fada an cuibreach
Cairdeal ceannfort cloinne Luirc
ní fuil geimhil mar an nglair-rin
an gcluin eidir Cairil Cuirc.

11. Ionnroigidh bur n-ionad coinne
a clann Éibir nar aom fíoch
ná beirid id tig 'n-a dogha
lib act deimhin fogha fíog.

12. Noca nfagbaid d'uairlib Mumhan
do mhuin a dtogha ar tuar gill
brath fíog muna fuil i nÉilib
budh díol le fuil Éibir finn.

13. A bruil tear a-táid gut iarraidh
d'ionnarba Gall dod ghruaidh bhroc
ir tugta daoib lámh fan luadhail
gan fádh a Maoil Ruanaidh riot.

14. Fine Cair agus clann Eogain
gan fíor dóib ní dingne fíoch
go dtí an comaonta le céile
domhaolta a ri Éile t'fíoch.

15. An i gCairéal ó Cath Éile
ran iath tear ó tá do chuid
leag na reacht dtuatha dá dtoighidh
teacht uatha gid doilig dhuid.

16. Ná han i n-éagmhair fóid Cairil
clann Éibir dá n-ana riad
cionnta go gcuire ar do ghaoltaibh
fionnta an bhruighe d'aontoil iath.

17. Tualaing chura teacht go Cairéal
a Í Cearbhaill a chiabh nocht
ir ná hairdhiug do fhíol Sadhba
acht lion bairdiodh anma ort.

18. Ní tig dhúnn gan dul id chionóil
dá dteagmhadh ort earbhaidh fluaig
a-tá a chunnradh ag an gcéidfear
cungnamh an lá ar éigean uainn.

19. Cian mac Oiliill airdri Cairil
cath Bhúille do bean a haithe
mun bud umhal inn dá oidhir
an cumhan linn oigid Airt.

20. Tugadh i dtimcheall Airt Aoinfir
ocht meic Oiliill anba an cion
le Mac Con ár ar an octar
acht dol flán don octmhadh fior.

21. Dar lat do bí ar bhroinn an chatha
clann Cuinn ó 't-connairc i n-airc
geimheal ar n-a gcar fan gCian-fa
gur ghabh deireadh iarrma Airt.

22. Dul le oidhre d'fhurtocht Mumhan
mac Oiliill ir eadh do thuill
gid adhaigh Samhna do fireadh
cabhair fagla ar cinead Cuinn.

23. Ná bíodh a-muig i mearg éileach
ir ionnáid re earrla fiar
Maol Ruanaid muna bé a-bhor-ain
an gcualaid ré ar chorain Cian.

24. Ear Dara ní déanta a tréagad
Gé a-tá a aire ar inme ar mó
ná bíod ar a meanma an Muma
go ndearna Síod Duma dó.

25. Ó Ceara fair go Céir Corainn
ríor coill agus clár réid
ní beannann gan hé gá oidir
ir é fearann cloidim Céin.

26. Ní tréigtear ar urrainn d'iad Connoct
críoc Oilill a fearann puirt
na trí luigne gémad lair-fean
cuidde ní i gCairéal Cuirc.

27. Dul go Cairéal i gcríc Éile
d'fógra Gall gá guair ar mó
do mac Róire ir é bur eactra
ir é a tóir-re ar deacra dó.

28. Goill do díocur tar druim fairrge
dá bréada Aod Eara Ruaid
ir mó a tarad do cloinn Connla
goill d'anad re colda cuain.

29. Cuimniud féin a bruarair d'fearann
dá n-aoma orad d'féin Gall
Ád Ireal ná cuir fad coraid
ní fuil bruread oraid ann.

30. Goill Banba dá mbead dod cumar
a gcur eirde imnead bud dú
nó go mbeannann céill dar gcumann
ar breatann féin ronnam rú.

31. Mana cnioct do cur a hÉirinn
a oidre Róire an ruirg cuirr
an fuil tear as guin do gruaide
agus tear d'fuil cuaine Cuinn.

32. A-tá t'adra ir t' agaid míodcuir
a mac Taidg a taod mar cuir
ar néim na hainnle ir na heala
méin Saidde fa deara duit.

33. Cormail re lon a flaith Éile
an t-adhra cóir cia ar nar loirg
cormail re huig an eoin céadna
a tuir ceoil do réadla roirg.

34. Samail duid ar ndíocur eactrann
a Ua Cearbaill ar nar clód féan
fad fadána ag dol fa damraid
cor anála i n-adhaid éan.

## Translation

1. Be ye united, O children of Eibhear; many are your foes; shame on you not to help each other; the bravest of the Goill are ever ready to attack you.

2. For long past Mumha with its warm-clothed hills and Midhe with its ploughed slopes have been held down by white-gleaming castles; any heart would mourn the sight.

3. As I see not in Eoghan Mór's race any man able to save Eire or among you either, O race of Cáirtheann—you see it yourselves—I might tell you to put up with (?) the Goill.

4. The cess of the lands around Caiseal now goes to support the foreign bands; an insult to the relics of your kings is it that Caiseal's wine be there drunk in spite of you.

5. The Goill, Alas! have fixed their chains on the race of Tál; also the race of Eoghan in the South are exiles in bonds.

6. If a Gaoidheal has the right to rule the Field of Banbha rather than a Gall that right can scarcely be made good now unless some help be forthcoming.

7. Cáirtheann's race has been driven forth into the rough hills from their sires' land; and so too are Cian's race defending themselves in a forest recess.

8. We (Northerns) are not allowed to approach—'twould be a hard fight for us to do so—the boundaries of thy broad lands, O Mumha; were I in such bondage I would leave you and go venturing elsewhere.

9. I have told only a part of the affliction upon us owing to Banbha being without a king; is there any man of the blood of the Gaoidhil who could be mentioned as able to remove that affliction from us.

10. The bondage—long bondage!—wherein lies Caiseal, chief stronghold of Lorc's race, has never had its equal; can the heir of Corc's Caiseal hear of this and be unmoved?

11. Haste therefore to the place of battle, ye children of unconquered Eibhear; bring home to your castle as your chosen lord only the one who is plainly the best.

12. Among Mumha's nobles Clann Eibhir can find no likely king worthy to rule his race, one who would win that distinction by their choice—except it be in Éile.

13. O Maolruanaidh, bright-cheeked hero, all in the South call on thee to drive out the foreigner; tho' unasked thou shouldst favour this movement of theirs.

14. O prince of Éile thy wrath should not abate until there is union; thou canst not have peace without the help of the races of Cas and Eoghan.

15. Leave the warriors of Éile, and establish thyself in Caiseal, for part of thy patrimony is in that Southern land; leave the seven tuatha in their homes though thou wilt be loath to leave them.

16. Be sure to go to Caiseal, so that, if the children of Éibhear stand firm there, thou mayst reproach them with their crime (disunion); find if thou canst unite them.

17. O hero of the flowing hair, O chief of Í Cearbhaill, thou hast power to march on Caiseal; but disturb not from their present lands any of Sadhbh's race, except to bring with thee those of thy own name.

18. We (Northerns) are bound to join thy hosting if thou art short of troops; the hero of old ordained that we send thee help when needed.

19. Cian son of Oilill, king of Caiseal, once helped us the folk from the Bóill in our stress ; if we (Northerns) are loath to be of service to his descendant (Ó Cearbhaill) can it be that we forget the story of the fate of Art ?

20. Round about Art Aoinfhear stood Oilill's eight sons ; the eight of them—fearful deed !—were slain by Mac Con, only one escaping.

21. He (Cian) stood in the battle-van having seen the race of Conn in stress ; when Cian was captured utter ruin, as you know, came on Art's race.

22. Oilill's son, Cian, had previously deserved that Art should come with his son to save Mumha, and now (at Magh Mucroimhe) on Samhain Eve his help had been asked to repel the attack on Conn's race.

23. Let not Maolruanaidh of the curling hair remain apart among the men of Éile ; if he come not among us in the North I would ask him has he never heard of those whom Cian of old came to help ?

24. Eas Dara must not be abandoned ; let Maolruanaidh not give all his thought to Mumha—though it is his chief resource—but secure Síodh Dumha too.

25. From Ceara Eastwards to Céis Corainn all the land, both wood and plain, objects not to belong to its true lord ; it is the sword-land of Cian.

26. Though the Three Luighne, Oilill's land, belong to Mumha's King, 'tis fitting that he abide in Corc's Caiseal ; this should not be abandoned in favour of any part of Connachta.

27. To march through Éile to Caiseal and there challenge the Goill—the danger of it !—would be a noble achievement for the son of Róis ; its beginning is the hardest part of it.

28. If Aodh of Eas Ruaidh can drive the Goill over the sea it will be a great advantage for Connla's race too that the Goill be kept back on the sea-coast.

29. If thou grantest any peace to the Goill remember the land that has always been thine ; do not cross Ath Iseal ; thus there will be no breach of the peace.

30. Thy care should be to drive out—if thou canst—the Goill of Banbha ; let us share our land with them only until we get rid of our reason for peace with them.

31. O son of round-eyed Róis, a good presage for the foreign knights' expulsion from Éire is the blood that flushes thy cheek, the blood of the South and also the rushing blood of Conn's race.

32. O son of Tadhg, O hero of foam-white skin, thy eyelash, and gentle face are of the colour of the swallow and the swan ; Sadhbh's love has made them so.

33. O prince of Éile, like to a blackbird's is thy shapely eye, lighting up with love of all ; O lord of music (?), blue as a blackbird's egg is thy star-bright eye.

34. O chief of Í Cearbhaill, ever-blessed of fortune, when thou drivest forth the foreigners, 'twill be as though a brave dog were driving a flock of kine, or as though a man were to waken up a nest of (screaming) birds.

## NOTES

MS. : YBL col. 167. Every MS. reading of any consequence is noted below.

1*a* eirṁ *d* u. bairḋ 3*d* aicill *cf.* YBL col. 160 vv. 10, 39 6*b* ar ḟ. 7*a* a cn. *c* ar a c. 8*c* fa b. 11*c* atig 12*b* a toga *c* bṗuil 13*a* a puil 14*d* ṗéile 17*b* hí. 18*c* c. acin c. 19*a* Ailill *b* i.e. Art's folk 21*c* car fan c. 22*c* cirḋ amuig aġairḋ fa. doo ḟi. ; amuig in margin appears to belong to 23*a* ; 23*a* birḋ a mearg 24 Eas Dara and Siodh Dumha in bar. Leyney, Co. Sligo 25*a* Ceara on Loch Measg ? Céis Corainn in bar. Corann, Co. Sligo. *c* gan hé ; ní beanaim gan " I do not prevent . . ." 28*b* Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill died 1505 29*c* Ath Iseal on Suir ; sense seems to be " hold on to your own land and do not cross Eastwards over the Suir " (?) 33*d* a. ṫ. ċ. strange expression, perhaps meant for Eaṁuil, Hercules ? 34*cd* " ṗéaḋ " (?) in margin as though couplet were incorrect.

# AN INQUEST ON SPAIN

BY REV. P. J. GANNON, S.J.

Professor of Theology, Milltown Park, Dublin

I USE the word "inquest" deliberately, because the Spain of 1930 has been destroyed—partly by suicide from within and partly by intrigue and intervention from without. Even if the forces of civilization prevail in the struggle now engaging the attention of the world, it will require generations of effort and sacrifice to restore unity, order and some measure of prosperity to the land. This fact is not in doubt and calls for no discussion. The question of responsibility alone claims our attention, and the list of books placed at the foot of this page,[1] though incomplete, is amply sufficient to enable any impartial mind to arrive at a confident conclusion.

The first impression left by the study of these books is the contrast between the works of Left Wing propagandists and those of their adversaries. The former are all pitched in the same key of fiery invective, of vague and wild assertion, without references that could be checked or details that could be verified. Their purpose is to stir the blood of their readers without any appeal to their intelligence. They are intended to mobilize democratic liberalism and labour sympathies in favour of the Madrid Government—whose legitimacy is assumed and vehemently asserted, but never proved. No allusion is ever made to the fact that the *Frente Popular*, in the elections of February 1936, won a majority of seats on a minority of votes—and this by a shameless system of gerrymandering. No hint is given that Azana (now the puppet President) and Caballero (now not much more than a puppet Prime Minister) both rebelled against the Right-Centre Government of 1934, the most indubitably democratic and legitimate regime in the whole history of the Second Spanish Republic,

[1] *A Reporter in Spain.* By Frank Pitcairn. (Lawrence and Wishart. 2s. 6d.).
*Behind the Spanish Barricades.* By John Langdon-Davies. (Secker and Warburg. 12s. 6d.).
*Spain To-day.* By Edward Conze. (Secker and Warburg. 3s. 6d.).
*The Spanish Tragedy.* By E. Allison Peers. (Methuen. 10s. 6d.).
*The Communist Atrocities committed in Southern Spain from July to October* 1936. First, Second and Third Reports. Issued by the National Government at Burgos. (Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.).
*Dans les Flammes et dans le Sang.* Par Francisque Gay. (Bloud and Gay. 6 fr.).
*Los Orígenes de la Revolución espaniola.* By Juan Tusquets. (Barcelona: Editorial Vilamaea).
*Comment la Franc-Maçonnerie fait une Révolution.* Par Jean Marquès-Rivière. (Baudinière. 12 fr.).
*Franc-Maçonnerie et Front Populaire.* Par Albert Vigneau et Vivienne Orland. (Baudinière. 12 fr.).

resting as it did on an immense majority both in the constituencies and the Cortes. These facts are not even discussed; for nothing really counts with Red propagandists but their own wry logic—according to which a rebellion of the Left is always an act of virtue, whilst its suppression is the crime of Fascism; the punishment of rebels—even for acts plainly criminal—is glorified into "martyrdom." By giving themselves fine-sounding, question-begging names, these publicists exempt themselves from the obligation of proving anything. They are adepts at throwing up a barrage of noisy and turgid special pleading to conceal the weakness of their case. If you seek to sift the evidence, it boils down ultimately to excuses after the event framed by a propaganda bureau in Barcelona or Madrid and handed out to foreign journalists.

The time has not yet come to explain the revolt of the army chiefs in July 1936. But there is no doubt that one strong motive was a desire to save their country from drifting into chaos. Since the elections of February 1936 the Government had lost control over the forces of anarchy. Lawlessness, sabotage, incendiarism, jacquerie and assassination stalked through the land, producing a complete paralysis of life. How do the apologists for Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona meet this grave indictment? Quite simply. All that was the work of wicked "Fascists" seeking to discredit innocent "democracy." So it was "Fascists" who burned down churches and convents, maltreated and murdered "Fascist" priests (for in leftist propaganda all priests are "Fascists"), sacked the offices of "Fascist" newspapers and "Fascist" clubs, seized the estates of "Fascist" grandees and the factories of "Fascist" capitalists. All this was done, be it noted, under a Government able to employ not only the Civil Guard and the Army, but its own "Shock Police."

Again, our democratic friends scream for guns, munitions, aeroplanes to be sent from England and France in aid of the "legitimate" Madrid Government, while at the same time they see Italian bombers darkening the skies and Krupp guns rending the air—a "scandal" over which they grow frantic. But they have never a word to say about Russian and French tanks, guns, aeroplanes, pilots, soldiers pouring in by sea to Barcelona and Valencia or through the passes of the Pyrenees. All this is ignored—because, of course, Russia and France have every right to aid Red Spain. But when Italy and Germany intervene, then intervention becomes a crime—a monstrous crime against "democracy" and a "legitimate" government.

Similarly, when it is impossible to deny outright the awful horrors of the war, the answer is (1) that the victims had merited their fate by their wickedness, (2) that the Whites had behaved much worse than the Reds. To sustain the former contention it is roundly asserted

that all the priests murdered were Fascist gunmen, who had converted the churches, monasteries and convents into fortresses from which they shot inoffensive and law-abiding trade unionists. Nuns even had turned gun-women and sniped from the windows of their convents, or helped to load rifles for clerical sharp-shooters. (You will find all this and much more in Pitcairn's *A Reporter in Spain*. The credulity or malice of this writer is astounding).

Wherever the Reds are in control, it is well known that, nightly, scores of people are taken for a ride and bumped off—" executed " as enemies of the new order by irresponsible gangsters. Mr. John Langdon-Davies is very original on this point. He long resisted the conclusion that anyone was murdered in this way. At length he feels that there may be something in the statement, repeated to him again and again, that from forty to a hundred were murdered nightly in Barcelona. So he goes to the morgue to see the bodies. He is refused permission ; but he is given an official list showing that five or six a night would be nearer the number. It never occurs to him to test the accuracy of the list. Perish the thought that the Anarchist-Syndicalist-Marxist regime would impose on a British publicist ! And if you are not satisfied with that answer, he has another. Even if the accusations of the other side were true, " even if all the nuns in Spain had been raped," the Fascists should be silent, seeing that they, by their rebellion, were responsible for every crime committed on either side. Delightful logic, impartial witness. What a storehouse of valuable facts Mr. Langdon Davies has provided, in his *Behind the Spanish Barricades*, for future historians !

Mr. Edward Conze, though also a propagandist of the Left, gives us a less shameless travesty of the facts in his *Spain To-day*. He attempts to justify the Spanish revolution of 1931 by examining the social and economic conditions of the country before that upheaval. This would be interesting and valuable, if well done. But here again one must complain of the looseness of expression, of the lack of adequate documentation, of the wild and unsubstantiated statements. The book, however, has some tables of statistics and two interesting chapters on the parties and personalities of the Left. Of course, with Mr. Conze as with all publicists of the Left, the Church has been the main cause of Spain's troubles—the *fons et origo* of her many ills. Some scapegoat has to be found ; and since Karl Marx made the great discovery that " religion is the opium of the people," the Church and Capitalism have become twin enemies for the Communists and Anarchists. " The clergy are chiefly responsible for the lack of literacy in Spain," writes Mr. Conze. Illiteracy in Spain was a crying scandal ; but it was the Government, not the Church, who were responsible for this scandal. When the Republic came into power in 1931, instead

of making an heroic effort to remedy this evil, it occupied itself in destroying the educational institutions in existence, because they belonged to the Church. The result was that illiteracy increased rather than decreased. It would be interesting to know what the Reds are at present doing for the education of the people under their control.

Professor Allison Peers's work is a refreshing contrast to the three already noticed. It is written with a judicial impartiality so complete and so sustained that one cannot, even at the end, discern his own verdict. He knows Spain and its literature as few strangers do; he loves the land and the people; he sympathizes with every party to the present conflict, weighs their ideals and their difficulties, and finds something good to say about all—even when pointing out their manifold mistakes. But these mistakes and the chaos born of them do not prevent him from ending with a note of hope: the intrinsic greatness of Spain cannot be doubted; great in the past, she will be greater in the future. Professor Allison Peers has certainly given us the most scholarly and balanced book on the Spanish imbroglio which has yet appeared in English.

The three Official Reports on atrocities issued by the National Government make terrible reading, and one should like to think them exaggerated for the sake of our common humanity. But they are as convincing as they are damning. Names of victims and of witnesses, exact dates and places, details of awful deeds done—all are set down as in police-records or court-proceedings. Allowing even for errors here and there, enough is substantiated to predict that history for all time will regard the conduct of the Red armies and parties since July 1936 as one of the most inhuman episodes in the annals of man. The French Revolution must now be relegated to a back place in history's Chamber of Horrors. Only the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its aftermath can claim precedence. And yet the real centres of atrocities, Barcelona and Madrid, do not figure in these Official Reports. The Beast of the Apocalypse has left his mark on the mutilated body of Spain.

M. Gay, in his *Dans les Flammes et dans le Sang*, writes from a peculiar standpoint. He is a French Catholic Republican and accepts the contention that the Madrid Government was legitimate. Hence he condemns the revolt of the army as unlawful rebellion against constituted authority. So far he agrees with Conze and the rest. But he appeals to French Republicans to acknowledge and condemn the savagery and the injustice of the war on the Church. His thesis is that the clerics and religious had nothing to say to the revolt—which is true and evident to the unprejudiced; and yet the moment it occurred the Red militia and organizations everywhere fell upon

the priests and religious and did perpetrate the iniquities ascribed to them. M. Gay proves his points with force and precision. He asks for any act, political or other, committed by a cleric and worthy of punishment. He shows that soldiers as a rule were accorded some semblance of a trial, but no priest and no religious received even the small mercy of a drum-head courtmartial. They were shot at sight. He easily disposes of the trumped-up charge that the churches and convents were armed fortresses defended by priests and nuns. There is one instance where the defeated soldiers in July 1936 forced their way into a convent and stood at bay. But, as M. Gay asks very justly, could a handful of unarmed religious have prevented this?

M. Gay has little difficulty in showing the warm sympathy and close co-operation existing between the French *Front Populaire* and the Spanish *Frente Popular*, and he pleads that French Republicans at least should—in the name of equality, fraternity, rights of man, democracy—condemn the war on the Church. But, of course, he pleads in vain. The Church must never be a beneficiary under the original charter of democracy. Her children may be robbed without accusation or trial, may be murdered with complete impunity, may not govern when they are a majority, may not defend their lives and property when they are a minority. Politicians who have no scruple in using every immoral and violent means to overthrow our Christian culture, deny to a Christian State the right to defend its life by legal punishment. Even if it proceeds no farther than the imprisonment of dangerous conspirators, the cry "Tyranny," "Tyranny" is at once raised throughout the world in the Red and Masonic Press.

Mention of the Masonic Press brings me to the last three books in my list. They are concerned with Freemasonry as an all-powerful force in Spanish politics and as the founder of the Republic in 1931. The most important of these books is that by Canon Tusquets, who has made a life-long study of the question and has a private museum of Masonic documents—often acquired at considerable risk. Canon Tusquets is not a victim of any phobia; neither does he make the mistake of exaggerating influences. He is careful in all references, giving in many cases photographic reproductions of the documents quoted. They are enough to convict the Spanish Grand Orient of being the architect of the second Spanish Republic, as it had been of the first. He shows also the complicity of the French Grand Orient prior to and after the fall of the monarchy. These are but a few of the interesting revelations contained in Canon Tusquets' book

M. Jean Marquès-Rivière, two of whose books have already been reviewed in STUDIES, is in substantial agreement with Canon Tusquets. He tells the story of Grand Orient manoeuvres in Spain since 1809, when French Masonry invaded the victim-land with the armies of

Napoleon. He shows how the first Republic of 1868, which began with a puppet-king but soon abandoned the pretence of monarchy, was a Masonic achievement. A proof of this is a boasting of the fact contained in a paper read by Miguel Morayta in 1915 before the Grand Orient of Spain, of which he was the Grand Master. M. Marques-Rivière also shows, from documents discovered in a dug-out under the villa of Francis Ferrer in Barcelona after the *semana tragica* of 1909, that this mild-seeming pedagogue, who became a martyr for the whole Masonic world, was in reality a convinced anarchist, a Bakunin in theory before he strove to become a Lenin in practice. It was under his influence that Barcelona experienced in 1909 a grim foretaste of the horrors it was to know on a vaster scale in 1936.

Both authors demonstrate the Masonic origin of the Second Republic beyond the reach of cavil. The shadow Cabinet of 1930—which ultimately forced the King to abdicate—contained no less than seven Masons out of ten—Azana, Prieto, Lerroux, Caballero, Martinez Barrio, Alvaro de Albornoz, Fernando de los Rios. The Provisional Government of 1931 was nearly identical in composition ; it contained seven Masons out of eleven. There were ninety-five Freemasons in the first Cortes Constituentes, and almost the first step of the Order was to seize control of the government machine by placing thirty of the Brothers in the key positions of the State. The Bulletin of the Thirty-third Degree, edited by the Supreme Council, wrote : " It is impossible to realize a political revolution more completely Masonic than the Spanish Revolution." Later, on 10 September 1932, the *Boletin Oficial* of the Spanish Grand Orient issued an official programme for the adepts—under stern penalties—which must be read in its entirety if we are to understand how complete the Masonic domination was meant to be.

The last book in the list deals chiefly with the subversive manoeuvres of the Grand Orient in France. But in Chapter XIII the authors reveal its intervention in the affairs of Spain. Masons are numerous and powerful in the Popular Fronts of both countries. Brother Jattefaux, speaking at the Convent of the Grand Orient of France (September 1936) and boasting of the successes of the Order, said : " Finally we have, at the request of the Spanish Grand Orient, stirred up the Council of the Order of the French Grand Orient to dispose the French Government to succour the sister republic of Spain. *The arms that have arrived down there are due to us* " (italics mine). Catholic Spain, like Catholic Mexico, has been marked out for crucifixion by the traditional enemy of the Church. Irish Catholics should not close their eyes to the character of the international forces supporting Azana and Caballero—both Masons and both now in alliance with Moscow.

P. J. Gannon

# MOULDING THE SOUL OF YOUNG GERMANY

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.
University College, Dublin

Robert d'Harcourt : *L'Evangile de la Force. Le Visage de la Jeunesse du IIIe Reich.* (Plon. 1936. 15 fr.).

[Anonymous] : *Hitler et Rosenberg ou Le Vrai Visage du National-Socialisme.* (Bonne Presse. 1936. 5 fr.).

Mario Roustan : *Hitler Educateur. Racisme ou Démocratic.* (Nathan. 1935. pp. 203).

J. E. Spenlé : *La Pensée Allemande.* (Colin. 1934. 10 fr. 50).

SINCE the accession to power of Adolf Hitler in January 1933, there has been a bewildering flood of literature on him, his lieutenants and his movement. Much of this is propaganda on one side or the other and, as such, both suspect and wearisome. Much of such literature, too, in the earlier years was speculative and conjectural or might be discounted as being inference from revolutionary acts which were unlikely to be repeated once the régime had settled down to live on everyday terms with their own and with neighbouring peoples. Now, however, we have arrived at a certain distance of time ; the Führer has been four years in power and the world is no longer left to surmise what may happen ; it is facing facts. Chief among these facts are the speeches and the actions—not now of a party seeking to obtain power, but of a responsible government working through its chosen leaders. Our knowledge of this is derived, not from the ordinary news-sheets representative of different groups of opinions, but from a press which is rigidly controlled and in which nothing is allowed to appear that Dr. Goebbels and his Department do not approve as being in accordance with the "good of the community" and presumably in line with the general policy of the State.

Those who have been watching events in Germany in the last four years know to what extent the daily life of the people—especially of the young—has been and is being revolutionized ; they know how the State has monopolized the individual and is engaged in moulding him to its purpose. This moulding is being carried out through organisations, the ideals and methods of which are publicly proclaimed. The ceaseless "courses" in instruction camps and elsewhere ; the books and texts prescribed for reading there and in the schools ; the entertainments in literature, film and radio which cater for the new youth—these things are available for the student of German. They

are entirely trustworthy evidence of what has happened and is happening, and they throw a tragic light upon the destiny of sections of the German people and upon phases of German life in which we in this country ought to be particularly interested.

It is an advantage for the man or woman interested in world affairs but not master of the German language to have at his or her disposal two such recent French publications as M. d'Harcourt's study of German youth and the anonymous author's *Hitler et Rosenberg*. The remaining two French volumes are not so recent and are not in the same category. They are, as in the work of M. Spenlé, Rector of the Académie at Dijon, more abstract—it is a study of the German mind fron Luther to Nietzsche, with the light thrown on that mentality by present-day happenings; or, as in the case of M. Roustan, more theoretical—an analysis of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* considered as "a dissemination of racial pedagogics." Such a work, indeed—showing, as it does, the dangerous pedagogical principles inherent in *Mein Kampf* and now being so consistently worked out all over the Reich—is an interesting preliminary study to the practical experiences and conclusions which form the subject of M. d'Harcourt's book and of the volume issuing from the Bonne Presse. All four are entirely free from tendenciousness; they set out the problem as it presents itself. The point of departure is the written or spoken word, without twist or falsification; the testimony of credible eye-witnesses; the restrained narrative of actual happenings. The processes are scientific; the conclusions seem unavoidable.

Robert d'Harcourt's work is alive with interest. The writer knows Germany thoroughly, and he admires and loves her young people. As Professor of German at the Institut Catholique in Paris, he has many books on his subject to his credit, including a translation of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, and several studies of Goethe. He has also made his country acquainted with some of the work done for Catholic Liturgy by Romano Guardini. He is, therefore, eminently "at home" with the country, the latest phases of which he has set himself to study. He makes no secret of the fact that he has an aversion to "the régime which has declared war on the human spirit." But he strains every nerve to be fair to the youth of the Third Reich. He knows their faults, which are rooted in "poverty of thought joined to vigour of enthusiasm." As he says: "We have every reason to be on our guard against them, but none to despise them. A false god has been placed in their hands. Their masters and not they are responsible for the fervour with which they embrace this idol while they recite the Credo of Blood and Race. There is no German Gospel. Generosity is the most dangerous face that error can wear."

Readers of this finely conceived and beautifully written volume

will wholeheartedly agree that the author has succeeded in painting his picture "without passion and with an entire regard for the truth." Its objectivity is such that only on reflection do we become aware of the "horror with which the deliberate attempt to dechristianise the youth of Germany" has inspired him. His sympathy with those young men is so sincere and the imaginative power with which they are conjured up so great that we are as much moved as M. d'Harcourt at "such nobility misled, such spirit of self-sacrifice misdirected." Those youthful faces, "glowing with a certain stern fervour and sealed with the seal of death accepted," remain with us long after we have closed the book.

For M. d'Harcourt, as for the anonymous author, the young are the essential element in the new state—"its stay in the present, its hope for the future." Their indoctrination with the National Socialist philosophy is the most far-reaching, the most carefully planned and the most dangerous feature of the revolutionary régime. The young especially were won for Hitler by despair; they were the heirs of the post-war débacle, the reasons for which they, unlike their elders, could not assess. For the watchwords of the Republic—acceptance of defeat, resignation, fulfilment of Treaty obligations—youth had no use. They were the slogans of tired middle age. For them "the taut bow was a better symbol, Thermopylae a more attractive gesture." They were ready to follow a real leader when he appeared and they were not critical. Drumming and shouting rather pleased them than otherwise. Marching to music was a significant activity when the Leader made them believe that they were marching into the Germany of the future, to be built up by them—a strong citadel. That belief had substance in it; it was not so schematic as the internationalisation and fraternisation preached in Geneva—but quite certainly not practised in the Europe that held Germany in a state of blockade.

German youth, once they had come over, had to be won outright and held. They were the foundation of the nation. They must be consolidated. Their very title "State Youth" was flattering. They became nationally conscious. They closed their ranks against their elders at home who were generally outside the movement—"not adaptable." They were the guardians of the future, initiated into the secrets for which they alone had ears. The Leader and his captains, with a genius for psychology, made them free of the open road—away from the disillusionment of home and discontent, into the fields and woods by day, round the camp fires by night. Here was the flag with its mysterious symbol; here was drilling and reconnoitring and map-reading; ceaseless physical activity, training for national service, initiation into the character of the National Socialist heroes and martyrs (Schlageter Horst-Wessel), into the mystery and the meaning of Blood

and Race, into the godlike qualities of the Leader. These are the new gods ; this is the new faith—the Nation, for the maintenance of which here they had to sacrifice all, practising the combative heroic virtues even to death. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*—the text-books of school and camp—preach a new code of values : the Christian doctrines are unsuitable to the Germanic race ; Sin and Redemption, Suffering and the Cross, Humility and Patience, are foreign conceptions, alien to the Nordic Blood. Paradise is neither in the Syrian East nor in the Hereafter, but here on German soil. It is not even necessary to remove the Jewish traits in Christ and give him a Nordic " make-up." The Germans have a Redeemer nearer home—Adolf Hitler. Henceforth there are to be no denominations. Not without significance do they repeat each morning, in the words of Baldur von Schirach, " I am neither Protestant nor Catholic ; I am a National Socialist."

One can imagine the strength of this call of the Blood, of this new religion of activity when it is preached to young people of generous instincts, ignorant and brought up for the most part without any strong supernatural beliefs. For the " Hitler Youth " were drawn mostly from the non-Catholic, Protestant and even atheistic sections of the population. It is the boast of National Socialist leaders like Goering and Rosenberg that the Germans who had grown a-religious have now been provided by them with an active " religious " principle of Germanic origin—the only one suited to their blood and race.

What of the youth of the Catholic twenty millions in this national uprising ? The Concordat had guaranteed them, in 1933, their own organisations, and one of the most pathetic documents which M. d'Harcourt produces is the statement of the Bishops in conference at Fulda in the autumn of that year. It stresses the necessity for the complete equality of the Catholic youth organisations with those of the Hitler or National Socialist youth. They must have the same liberty of movement, the same opportunity for physical and spiritual discipline. They must be guaranteed their integrity, while being admitted into the framework of the national youth movement. Not only has that not been done, but the summer of 1935 brought a decree of Herr Himmler, the chief of the Secret Police, forbidding to the Denominational Youth Association the wearing of a uniform or a badge of any kind ; forbidding marching, camping, music, excursions, the carrying of flags or standards or the practice of any form of sport. Those acquainted with German life will realise at once that such a decree spelt death to the organisations. They no longer had a raison d'être ; there was no activity left to them. Their members could be active only at the price of entering the " Hitler Youth," and that entrance was more than a threat—it was an admitted danger—to their

religious beliefs. The leader of that youth is the man who consistently preaches the fundamental opposition between Catholicism and National Socialism. The Catholic youth is condemned to the "Ghetto"; he is an "inferior" German; he has no contacts with the "German soul"; he is an "international." He is in the shadow; the Hitler youth "sits in the sun."

That was the condition of things in 1935. In 1937 we know that things have gone much further. For a considerable time after the accession to power of Hitler, it was laid down that membership of the "Hitler Youth" was entirely voluntary. Last year a change was made, and the "Hitler Youth" in all its stages has become the "State Youth"; in 1937 membership is obligatory on every German child. It may be urged that the change is only apparent and that, in practice, most of the German youth were already enrolled. It is true that the children of officials had to join; most Protestants were already members; but the children of loyal Catholics had remained consistently and at great cost to themselves and their parents outside the ranks. Both the books under discussion here bring detailed accounts of the daily martyrdom which had to be endured in school and out of school by Catholic boys at the hands not only of their "Hitler Youth" comrades, but also of their teachers who had been inoculated with the race and blood virus or had, for safety, conformed to the "new religion." The protest—a formal and documented one, with day and date—of the Bishop of Rottenburg in Würtemberg in July 1935, addressed to the Governor of the Province and reproduced by M. d'Harcourt, gives some idea of the ignominies and the sufferings endured by Catholic priests and the Catholic population of his diocese. The songs sung by the marching youth and having for theme the priests and nuns as "currency robbers" or the misdeeds of Popes and Bishops etc. are textually given; passages from newspaper articles stigmatising the "servants of God" as traitors to the "great national cause" are read to the children; insulting verses on the "black rats" are attached to the boards in the primary schools and the people are invited to produce ropes to hang "all traitors to Germany." That protest went to join the hundreds of others that moulder in the archives of the various provinces—unheeded, except that in this case the Governor issued a decree banning the Catholic Youth Organisations throughout Würtemberg! What of the Concordat now and of Article 31 safeguarding such organisations? Even the letter which was being observed elsewhere is now—with the spirit of the paragraph—dead.

It would be strange, indeed, if the Germans could escape unscathed the steady barrage fire of hatred of the denominations and especially of Catholicism which is directed at them every day from (1) the special

National Socialist organs such as Rosenberg's *Der Völkische Beobachter* and *Die Nationalsozialistischen Monatshefte*; the S.S. organ *Das Schwarze Korps*, which every German official must read; Dr. Goebbel's paper *Der Angriff* etc.; (2) the speeches of leaders like Goebbels, Rosenberg, Ley, Frick, Goering; (3) the cinema extensively exploited for propaganda purposes—for instance, in a film like "The Frisians in Distress," in which the dénouement is the substitution of the revolver for the Cross; (4) the publishing firms bringing out such instructive or entertaining literature as "The History Picture Book" or "The Voice of our Ancestors" with an entire falsification of facts and a twisted interpretation of such phenomena as the advent and progress of Christianity in Germany. In vain do the loyal band of Catholic workers struggle against all the forces of the State aligned against them. Pathetic are the efforts unceasingly made by Catholic writers to demonstrate the falseness of the doctrine of any fundamental opposition between German nationalism in the true sense of the word and the Christian ideal. They are voices crying in the wilderness—a wilderness into which they have been and are being deliberately driven. No wonder that Dr. Goebbels estimated a reduction in the Catholic ranks of fifty per cent.—a calculation that is, in many episcopal quarters, regarded as too favourable to the future position of Catholicism in Germany. No wonder that the Chancellor could calmly set up the Concordat; it was for him an "efficient windscreen" and for the Catholic Church, as it has been proved, a "useless shelter." Behind this camouflage, the war of attrition is waged unceasingly and, it has to be admitted, effectively against Catholic parent and Catholic child. There seems to be no need for a more spectacular persecution of the Church—though, indeed, there have not been wanting voices to echo the Leader in his statement, made long before his advent to power, that Christianity had been established by bloodshed and terror and might have to be abolished by similar methods. The Führer hopes, however, to attain this end in other ways.

One of the most interesting documents, cited in both the volume from the Bonne Presse and in M. d'Harcourt's book, is an account given by a university student of a visit which he and a student of theology paid to a training camp at Darmstadt organised by the National Socialist Union of University Students (N.S.D.S.T.B.). The course was to be for a fortnight, and the initial conference was on "Our Blood and our Philosophy of Life." The lecturer made it so clear that the object of the course was to form a "shock" corps for Rosenberg in the struggle for the "German soul" which would probably begin in the following winter in accordance with the mind and will of the Leader, that the two students, as convinced Catholics, could not continue the course. The lecturer had demonstrated the incom-

patibility of the Christian and the National Socialist ideal—"the latter alone being in harmony with the character of the Germanic race." "A struggle with the denominations was absolutely unavoidable; perhaps not a brutal struggle, but they must be made to disappear, one and all." There followed the usual allegations against Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular. What is particularly interesting is the point of view of the director of the course and of the National Delegate of the Students' Union (a Catholic and a former member of a Catholic University Students' Union !). They were surprised at the naiveté of the two objectors in not having realised long since the aims of National Socialism. They admitted, however, that many had entered the National Socialist ranks under the impression that it was a purely political movement. But the time had now come for all such to be undeceived and to make their decision for or against the Churches. They could not go both ways. The Catholic Church had long since been undeceived, they asserted ; but certain sections of the Protestant Church were still under a delusion. They ended up in all courtesy by inviting them to remain. The two students, insisting on leaving, were then dismissed with every show of politeness.

Such a document throws a flood of light on the tactics of the Chancellor of the German Reich. He will under no circumstances be considered an Atheist ; he does not wish to be confused with Russian or Mexican Marxists ; he will not "persecute"—but he will undermine. He hopes to win by lapse of time and by the intensity of Nazi education, which takes possession of the child practically from its cradle and will not release him or her until they are ready for the grave. Our two authors devote several chapters to a demonstrable proof of the efficiency and thoroughness of this state ownership and to the very considerable results that have already been achieved. The Tiny Tots Corps, the Young Lads, the Hitler Youth, the Army Conscripts, the S.A., the S.S., the various civil associations embracing all trades and professions in which promotion is difficult, if not impossible, without passing these tests of camp courses etc.—all these secure the citizen for the ideas of the State. Even his free time is not his own. The "Kraft durch Freude" ("Strength through Joy") organisation takes care of him in the holidays too. His school days are never over. The grip never relaxes.

These two books bring us down to 1936. The year 1937 has brought us somewhat further and National Socialism seems to be still winning. In Catholic Bavaria 95 per cent. of the parents declared for the State schools ; in Stuttgart the last Catholic school has been closed down. And yet the Concordat has not been violated ! For the people, "the sole fountain of authority," from whom the Führer himself holds his mandate, have spoken ! They have declared for National Socialism.

The State is not obliged to provide schools for the remaining few loyal Catholics or Protestants; their numbers do not justify the outlay! Who is going to prove undue pressure? It is a dangerous thing to make any allegations against State organisations, such as H.J., S.A. etc. Even the Cardinal Archbishop of Munich has had his sermons censored. His sermon on Sunday February 14th was preached to a thronged congregation, including Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria. He and the Cardinal were enthusiastically cheered on leaving the Church! The Cardinal summed up all the outrages committed against Catholicism and envisaged the denunciation of the Concordat. On whose side? Would that mean open war with the Church? Such a war has long seemed to the German Catholics themselves absolutely inevitable—and to many of them preferable to the present form of persecution. The German Catholics have borne a heavy burden in the last four years. Their ranks are thinned; but it is the élite who are left. And they are probably of that stuff that thinks a straight fight is better than either guerilla tactics or passive resistance. In the words of M. d'Harcourt, "they have a claim on our Catholic solidarity and a right to our Catholic prayers."

MARY M. MACKEN

## SOME RECENT FRENCH BOOKS

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

IT is often with a feeling of envious admiration that one lays down French works of fiction. For whether written by professedly Catholic novelists or otherwise, all are inspired, more or less, by a clear vision of life as it is, by an almost uncanny skill in the unravelling of human motives and, not least, by a temerity in presenting life as the authors see it, even at the risk of some disedification. There is comparatively little, written either in England or Ireland, to compare with it, and almost nothing in England, as far as Catholic novelists are concerned, representative of anything beyond a laudable desire to promote conversions. France may have—indeed we know that unhappily she has—wide strata of her population that have passed outside the dogmatic teaching of the Church; nevertheless her national culture still remains profoundly Christian, and her writers have all been trained in that Latin tradition, at once Catholic and classical, that has prevailed in her schools for over one thousand years.

We are, happily, far from the days, belonging indeed to the later decades of last century, when illicit love in conjugal life, with all the sensational situations that it might provoke, supplied the main theme

of the yellow-backed French novel. To-day, equally in Catholic and non-Catholic fiction, it is the whole national life of France that is treated in all its aspects—social, economic, provincial, agricultural. In this wide survey religion, as a dominant influence on human affairs, finds its place quite simply and naturally. And this not only in novelists such as Mauriac or Malègue or Gertrude von Le Fort, who could not fail to express a profoundly Catholic attitude towards life, but also in writers such as Jules Romains in his epic work *Les Hommes de bonne Volonté*, where his seventh volume is entitled *Recherche d'une Eglise* and deals with the *tourment de l'infini*, which pursues the young generation that has cast away its traditional faith.

Much of what has been said finds its justification in a recent novel by Isabelle Rivière, the widow, it will be remembered, of that brilliant and somewhat baffling Catholic, Jacques Rivière, who died some ten years ago, and sister to the young novelist, Alain Fournier, reported "missing" during the War. *Le Bouquet de Roses Rouges*[1] is not a novel of the first rank, but it is typically French and Catholic in its treatment of the delicate topic of religious conversion with a total absence of the controversial spirit. The story is frankly based on her own married life seen through a wife's eyes, yet so tactfully adapted to fiction that Rivière himself could not have resented it. Deeply and sentimentally in love throughout an engagement prolonged by the poverty of the young couple, each was convinced that married life could be led in a mood of sustained rapture that would confer all that they could desire. Both started wholly indifferent to spiritual considerations. Yet little by little a need made itself felt, and though married love never failed, Michel's hyper-sensitive and unstable temperament rendered life in a tiny Paris flat far from easy for his wife. And Agathe, too, had had her romantic expectations of unruffled bliss. The disappointment of no children added to the strain and, slowly, first wife and then husband came to understand that something fundamental was missing from their lives and that the "something" might be the love of God. In the end all comes right, thanks in part to the birth of a little daughter and the dangerous illness of Agathe, described with the abundance of medical detail in which French novelists excel; and this work of fiction has the real merit of making the conversion of the young couple far more convincing than most conversions one reads about. It leaves one impressed both with the delicate literary talent and the spiritual perceptiveness of the authoress.

A far more powerful book is Bernanos' *Journal d'un Curé de Campagne*,[2] one of the most widely discussed novels in Catholic circles of the current year. Georges Bernanos has long been known as a Catholic novelist for whom the priestly vocation and all that it entails

[1] Paris: Corria. 1936. 15 fr. [2] Paris: Plon, 1936, 15 fr.

is almost an obsession. In one form or another the problem dominates nearly all his novels. Thus in *L'Imposture* Bernanos describes with an acute vision the gradual loss of faith in a priest who nevertheless maintains externally an attitude of strict decorum. In *Sous le Soleil de Satan* he presents the psychological evolution of a saint—on the lines of the Curé d'Ars—from a devout young priest of mystical aspirations but of uncouth exterior against a background of rather brutal peasant life in Artois. His books are so penetrated with a sense of the ceaseless combat within us of sin and grace that, though fiction in form, they should be read in serious mood. There seems to be a grim Spanish strain in his spiritual outlook—no trace at all of Franciscan Holy Joy. In his latest book there is an almost unbearable pathos in the long self-drawn revelations of the young parish priest, very poor and very lonely in his obscure village. Sprung from a miserable home, he has no health, no self-confidence, no knowledge of the world, and a touching ignorance of how best to approach his recalcitrant parishioners, so that all his efforts appear frustrated. As is usual in France, the district is dominated by the neighbouring *château*, where its own tragic happenings are being worked out ; and by degrees the priest is involved in these, his intense spiritual perceptiveness giving him an unsuspected power over souls. The end of the story, when the *abbé* dies of cancer—the hidden cause of his perpetual suffering—in the rooms of a lapsed priest whom he is trying to befriend, constitutes the most moving pages that Bernanos has yet written and deepens the vivid impression that the volume cannot fail to make on its readers.

Turning for a moment to more general literature, it is noteworthy how popular the " cycle " novel, running to many volumes, continues to be. Georges Duhamel, recently elected to the Academy, has indeed completed his " Salavin " cycle in four volumes—now available in an English translation ; so too Jacques Chardonne has added a third and final volume to his " Destinées Sentimentales," a picture of industrial and provincial life. But Duhamel's history of the Pasquier family is still incomplete after four volumes ; and most marvellous of all, that veritable " roman fleuve " by Jules Romains continues to run its course with twelve completed volumes behind it. No one has analysed more effectively than Jacques Madaule (*Vie Intellectuelle*, Feb. 1936) this wide picture of pre-war French life as revealed in a variety of loosely inter-locked incidents and characters, original in conception, often brilliant in execution and uniformly tolerant in outlook. And yet, says Madaule, the whole leaves an impression of mediocrity owing to the complete absence in his picture of any sense of eternity. " He appears to me the most authentic witness of a certain irreligion that has become so profound that without a sudden influx of grace, always possible, we would despair of it."

So many moral questions are treated in the novels discussed that it is not really inappropriate to conclude these brief notes with a reference to a work, not of fiction but of direct spiritual import. Until post-war years Ireland would have had no need to interest herself in a work of moral redemption such as is described by Père Lelong, O.P. in *Les Dominicaines des Prisons*,[1] a book which has excited some attention among French social-minded Catholics. Quietly and unobtrusively, for the last seventy years, a female Dominican congregation, founded in the face of disheartening obstacles by a saintly Dominican, Père Lataste, has carried on an apostolate usually identified with the Good Shepherd Sisters, but on totally different principles. For whereas in the Good Shepherd convents the penitents who elect to remain for life follow a rule as Magdalens wholly distinct and separate from that of the nuns with no hope of any real rehabilitation ; in Béthanie, on the contrary, after a long and searching novitiate the *réhabilitées* join the *réhabilitantes* in a single community, mingling with them on equal terms.

To make a success of so startling an innovation many prudent precautions had to be taken. The spiritual formation of the *réhabilitantes* has to be very thorough and special, " presque sacerdotale " wrote Père Lataste ; the number in any community of *réhabilitantes* must always exceed that of the *réhabilitées*; and finally, the latter, mostly recruited in prison, must pass through practically a double novitiate. For it is only when a subject has devoutly spent several years, first as an *aspirante*, then as a *petite soeur*, that she can be received as postulant in the convent novitiate. But the hope of this complete rehabilitation is held up before all the penitents as their supreme aim. To-day the congregation of Béthanie has houses in Belgium and Switzerland as well as in the south and east of France. It is a work founded on a belief in the infinite power of God's grace and on the most complete Christian charity. To carry it to a successful issue it needed the co-operation of a woman of very remarkable character, Mère Henri-Dominique, superior for some forty years. Indeed to her, almost as much as to the devoted direction of Père Lataste, is due the success of this very inspiring experiment.

V. M. Crawford

[1] Juvisy : Editions du Cerf. 1936. 15 fr.

# REVIEWS

## Religion

*DER CHRISTLICHE GLAUBE UND DIE ALTHEIDNISCHE WELT.* Von Karl Prümm, S.J. Leipzig: Verlag Jakob Hegner. 1935. 2 vols. 44 m.

THIS is a work of truly remarkable industry and learning, in which a pupil of Professor Franz Dölger essays the formidable task of comparing the doctrines of Christianity with the heathen religions it came to supersede. Various separate aspects of this most important subject have been studied with great zeal for several generations, and the literature which deals with it is immense. Father Prümm has had the original idea of taking the Apostle's Creed as his clue through a dense scientific forest. This procedure is of much advantage at once to him and to his readers. It enables him to be at the same time logical and complete, and it gives his work the value of an encyclopedia, which can both be read as a whole and studied in detail with equal ease. Each of the two volumes has its well-planned table of contents and nearly fifty pages of notes, in which almost everything ever written that bears on the subject is listed and often carefully as well as objectively criticised.

To anyone who has made even a slight study of ancient religion the justice of Father Prümm's general conclusion is already manifest, but it is most valuable to have all the arguments set out as they are here with accuracy and thoroughness. The excellence of the work does not consist in any particular originality, but rather in the masterly skill with which a vast field of scholarship is surveyed and its contents ordered to a rational purpose. Father Prümm begins with a brief historical sketch of the world into which Christianity came, and especially of its religious and philosophical condition. He next establishes the claim of the Apostle's Creed to represent the pure original teaching of the Church. Then he takes each article of the Creed separately, and after a full examination of pagan ideas on the dogma it enshrines goes on to give an equally full account of its theological content. Thus the first article, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty," gives occasion for a discussion of heathen "belief" in general, with special sections for the history of Greek and Roman religion, followed by another on primitive monotheism, its survival in the Zeus-cult, the philosophical developments it underwent in the fifth and later centuries, the syncretism of Hellenistic times, and the idea of fatherhood as applied to pagan divinities. This chapter is in itself an elaborate treatise on the history of religion, and takes such full account of recent investigation as to be instructive on every page. One example of its completeness and up-to-dateness is the use made of Altheim's far-reaching work on Italian religion, which has greatly modified the classic views of writers like Wissowa and Warde-Fowler.

The third chapter, on the Creation, is equally wide in its scope, and the same multifarious learning is displayed all through. The reader will go to this book to find the latest conclusions of scholarship on such questions as Orphism, the Eleusinian mysteries, Mithraism, the ancient ruler-cult, pagan eschatology, controversies on the Pneuma-problem, sin and its forgiveness, priesthood in paganism and Christianity, and much besides. A particularly interesting section is that on the Virgin Birth, where a number of recently-fashionable theories put forward by such scholars as Bousset, Norden, and Dibelius are examined and found defective. In a chapter on " mother-goddesses " again, the aberrations of a great scholar like the late Eduard Meyer are severely but justly dealt with. It is difficult to select any one part for praise where all is excellent ; but in the course of fairly wide reading in Greek religion I can safely say I have never come across so clear, so sensible, and at the same time so scientific an account of the earth-mother cult and its manifestations and disguises as is here given. Father Prümm himself remarks that, in such a work as his, certain minor errors are unavoidable. I have noticed one such on p. 301 of volume I : Hesiod's *Theogony* does not call Hekate " the nurse of the son of Kronos," which would be a rather startling title for her. He merely says the son of Kronos made Hekate a nurse of youth, which indeed is instructive enough. Another small point is that the name of a young German scholar, Wilhelm Quandt, seems to be consistently misspelt.

Father Prümm's wonderful knowledge and industry lead him, and must lead his readers with him, to the certain conclusion that none of the theories which with such persistent ingenuity explain Christianity as a " natural " offshoot of Greek or oriental paganism will hold water. Ancient paganism was headed in quite a different direction when Christianity came. It was at once earthbound and irremediably pantheistic, and Christianity not merely met and satisfied religious desires which were already present, but created others of which paganism in its degeneracy did not dream. The systematic confrontation of the new and the old shows that while in certain obvious respects syncretistic and similar theories have a momentary plausibility, there are others—a great example is the Ascension—in which there is not even the beginning of a parallel. It is scarcely to be hoped that a book of this kind will end the futile display of ingenuity in explaining the unexplainable. It does at least serve to impress on serious readers the pity that ancient religion cannot be studied more scientifically for its own sake without apologetic bias ; for in its way, with all its crudeness and backwardness, it is one of the most fascinating products of the human spirit.

M. T.

*THE ART OF SUFFERING.* By Louis Bertrand. London: Sheed and Ward. 1936. 7s. 6d.

BODILY pain and mental unhappiness—sometimes deserved, sometimes apparently undeserved; sometimes outweighing the joys of life, sometimes outweighed by them—await each one of us almost every day of our lives. Some of us suffer much; some of us suffer not so much; but we all suffer considerably and regularly. Why are we thus subject to suffering? How can God be good if His creatures are so miserable? These questions constitute for us one of the mysteries of providence—the problem of evil. If we are wise however—for we will never find a wholly satisfactory answer to the problem—we turn rather to the ills that are in store for us and learn how best to bear them.

The present volume deals with this art of suffering. It is in three parts, with a Preface by Fr. Martindale. The first part deals with Old Age, the second with Pain, and the third with Dying. Each paints a vivid, a fearful, almost a sickening picture—all the ghastly facts in all their ghastly detail of the winter of life, of the hospital, of the poverty-stricken home, of the breaking heart and the broken heart, of the final rending that is Death. And because we are not so apt to be moved by a mere abstract description as by a narrative of flesh-and-blood happenings, each section is a chronicle of sufferers rather than a cold analysis of sufferings. The account of Philip II of Spain or the quotations from the diary of Alphonse Daudet are not for weak stomachs. Perhaps, it is no harm to bring home to us, thus, how much suffering there is in the world about us. If we can overcome our instinctive feeling of terror lest we ourselves be the next victims, we will surely turn humbly to God and thank Him that our crosses are so light—in comparison with those of others.

M. Bertrand then shows us how different sufferers react to their sufferings. And he tells what the ancients and the moderns have proposed as the best way of reacting—only to pick holes in each proposal. So we are left to infer that there is no art of suffering after all. Neither mental discipline nor anaesthetics nor narcotics really do away with pain for long. They attenuate but do not annihilate it. Nevertheless, the author is not a pessimist. He insists that, though there may be no natural craft of suffering, there is a supernatural craft of suffering. Christ, our Head, suffered and died. If we join our sufferings with His, He will help us with His grace. What form that help will take, we cannot tell for any individual beforehand. All we know is that He will temper the trial to our endurance or our endurance to the trial. We have countless proofs for that both from history and from watching the lives of good Christians around us. Such is the constructive teaching of this volume. We wish the author had lingered longer on it.

You may think, as you lay down this book, that it is an unsatisfactory study because it has so little help to offer. But then it shows abundantly that there is no other help to be offered. And to know this is a big step forward for most of us. Besides, is the help offered really so little after all ? C. L.

*OCCASIONAL SERMONS.* By Vincent Byrne, S.J. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1937. Pp. 308. 5s. 0d. net.

THE twenty-four discourses in this compact and well-printed volume reflect the standard type of composition which obtained in Ireland down to the period (1878-80), when liberal education here ceased to be in close contact with France and Italy, and became definitely and rapidly anglicised. Their form and content show them to be in right line with such published work as that of Fr. Nicholas MacCarthy, S.J., and Dr. D. W. Cahill, whose special sermons had a notable measure of influence in the period 1860-1870. Father Vincent Byrne's carefully-finished work, however, is at once more simple in structure than that of his forerunners, and is always shorter in exposition : his average length is about 2,500 words. That expository plan, too, avails to the fullest of Scriptural substance as the core of illustration and of proof, always pastoral in tone and always cogently yet simply reasoned. T. C.

## Biography

*MICHAEL O CLEIRIGH.* Chief of the Four Masters and his Associates. By Rev. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1936. 7s. 6d.

READERS of STUDIES, *The Irish Rosary,* and *Assisi,* are already aware of the amount of accurate research work done by Father Brendan Jennings upon the history of the Irish Franciscans of the seventeenth century. His *Michael O Cleirigh,* just published by the Talbot Press, will serve to introduce him to a wider public. It is undoubtedly the best account that has yet been produced of the great Franciscan lay-brother to whom Ireland owes so much. Not alone does it embody all that previous workers in the same field have discovered, but it adds much that is new—particularly the detailed account of Brother Michael's itinerary through Ireland, painstakingly worked out from an examination of the dated colophons which he used to append to the manuscripts transcribed by him. The reasons advanced by Father Jennings for refusing to believe with John O'Donovan that Fearghal O'Gara, patron of the Four Masters, was a protestant are not alone new and convincing, but important in more ways than one. They do away, for instance, with O'Donovan's argument[1] that the loyalty

[1] See O'Donovan's notes on the passages referred to in STUDIES, 1935, p. 593.

to the English crown expressed by the Four Masters was a loyalty feigned to please a protestant patron who was out of sympathy with Catholic Ireland.

The title of this book has been slightly altered from that of the series of articles, published in *Assisi*, of which it is a revised reprint. In *Assisi* the work bore the simple title *Brother Michael O'Clery*. The book bears the longer title *Michael O Cleirigh, Chief of the Four Masters and his Associates*. Is it right that Brother Michael should be remembered primarily as Chief of the Four Masters ? The Annals of the Four Masters are, except for the late period, seldom used as a primary source by scholars. On the other hand, if we open the Rev. Charles Plummer's *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* and turn to the Introduction, we shall see that for many saints' lives in Irish Brother Michael's transcripts are the only sources available ; and in the case of others, where more than one manuscript still exists, Brother Michael's manuscripts are the most faithful to the original. Brother Michael's hagiographical work was carried out by him in a spirit of loving obedience to the will of his Franciscan superiors in Louvain. Those superiors, in touch with Renaissance tradition, believed in the faithful copying of sources as the first step in a sound method of historical research. They, therefore, forbade Brother Michael to follow the traditional Irish method of silently correcting what seemed to be erroneous. Brother Michael carried out his superiors' injunctions to the best of his ability. That is why his hagiographical work is still of such importance to scholars. The *Annals*, on the other hand, the *Leabhar Gabhála*, and the rest of his historical writings, carried out under lay patronage, are vitiated by the traditional method to which, as Father Jennings shows, Brother Michael in his heart of hearts was devoted.

It will be the task of some future historian to pass judgment upon the relative importance of the two phases of Brother Michael's work and to assess the value in human terms of the Gaelic tradition of learning which left its impress so strongly on him. When that historian comes, he will find in Father Jenning's book an invaluable guide. It is true that when he refers to Irish citations, he may find cause to regret the lack of that accuracy of transcription which seems to have distinguished Brother Michael's own work on Irish hagiographical texts (Plummer, BNE, p. xiv).[1] Here and there, too, he may find fault with the indexing. The entry for the Martyrology of Tallaght, for instance, is misplaced, and to the single reference (to p. 69) should be added references to pp. 58, 192 (note 21), 193 (note 15), 104 (note

[1] Italics are not used to indicate the expansion of contractions. In a number of places, therefore, one is left to wonder whether grammatical peculiarities are due to Brother Michael or to the transcriber of his colophons, *e.g.* : does *as leabhar Meg Cárthaigh*

18).[1] Bundrowse, where Father Jennings believes the convent called the Convent of Donegal to have been situated in the seventeenth century, receives no mention at all in the index. Minor misrenderings of Irish phrases are also to be found: thus *salach*, when used by Brother Michael to describe an Irish text, seems to mean "corrupt," as Father Paul Walsh translates it (*Irish Book Lover*, 1935, p. 111, l. 21), not "disgusting" as Father Jennings (p. 63), following Plummer, translates it. On p. 87 Father Jennings himself gives the right translation in a very similar context. The corruption in both instances seems to be metrical corruption in verses. Again the obscure word transcribed as *bronnach* (p. 199, note 18) can hardly, in the context, bear the meaning "sad" given it in the translation on p. 87. *Neimhchiall* in the same note has been translated "utter nonsense." This translation is certainly too strong. The literal meaning is "lack of sense," and the context suggests that it is another word for the obscure technical flaw in poetry called *claon céille*, which is mentioned in the *Auraicept* (ed. Calder, ll. 2139, 5100).

These are minor matters, however, in a book designed primarily for the historian rather than the linguist. What is important is that Father Jennings has discovered so many interesting documents and used them so well to throw light on the history not alone of Brother Michael O Cleirigh, but of all those who were associated with him. Indeed the occasional small linguistic errors themselves afford indirect proof of the originality of all Father Jenning's work and of the pioneer nature of much of it.

The Irish Franciscans are to be congratulated on having among them to-day one who in his love of our Irish past is an inheritor of the glorious tradition of St. Antony's, and who at the same time has proved himself an adept in the methods of modern research.

G. M.

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*Riabhuch* (p. 197, note 2), not represent a wrongly expanded *as leabhar Meg Cárthaigh Riabhaigh?*

Where colophons quoted in this book can be compared with transcriptions of the same colophons by Plummer, there are always small discrepancies of spelling.

A Royal Ir. Academy MS. cited (D.I.2) is inaccurately transcribed (see p. 205, note 2, where the printed text begins *Ar ghradh Íosa Críost agus a naomhmathar milsi an Ogh Naomh Muire*—the MS. reads *Ar gradh Iosa & a naomhmathar millsi an Ógh NaomhMuire*). Here, besides the minor discrepancies, *Críost* has been inserted without MS. authority. The minor discrepancies do not cease after the first line.

On p. 199, l1, 15-16, what must certainly have been tall *e*-s in the MS. have been transcribed as *le* (*go ro ghiorra i cclethramnaibh agus go ro fad i cclethramnaibh cle*).

[1] Moreover it is not accurate to state (p. 58) that "Brother Michael transcribed that other part of the Book of Leinster which is known as the Martyrology of Tallaght." The old Kildare book, as Dr. Best has shown (*Mart. of Tallaght*, p. xviii), which Brother Michael used as his exemplar was not the Book of Leinster, but a copy of it made not later than the 15th century.

*AODH MAC AINGIL AGUS AN SCOIL NUA-GHAEDHILGE I LOBHAIN.* Tomás Ó Cléirigh do scríobh. Baile Atha Cliath : Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais. 1936. 2s.

THIS book from the Government Department of Publications comes almost as a surprise. From force of habit one is inclined to look first for the English original of which it is a translation or adaptation. But in this case one will happily look in vain. For we have here no translation or adaptation, but an independent and original work of much scholarly value, written moreover in Irish prose which, if it does not strive after high literary excellence, has the very great merit of being clear and well-ordered.

Mr. Ó Cléirigh tells in this book the story of the great work of the Irish Franciscans in Louvain in the seventeenth century. He has gathered together a great amount of information, and this he presents to his readers in an orderly and very attractive manner. The author writes with the enthusiasm which his subject very naturally inspires. But unlike much else that is written in Irish at present, in this case the enthusiasm is controlled throughout by a due critical sense, a balanced judgment, and a constant recurrence to the evidence of the original sources. In one instance only does the author express an emphatic opinion in a controversial question without (in my opinion) adducing sufficient evidence. That is in the matter of Florence Conry's association with Jansenius and in the question of his absence from his archdiocese (pp. 40, 44).

Mr. Ó Cléirigh presents most of his material in the form of short biographical sketches. But he devotes special attention to Aodh Mac Aingil, as one would expect from the title of the book. In three different sections he treats of the life and work, the Irish prose writings, and the poems of Mac Aingil. These Irish writings he submits to a critical literary analysis ; and while one may not agree with all his judgments, one has the satisfaction—a rare enough one where criticisms of Irish literature are concerned—of knowing that the author's opinions are original, that they are founded on a first-hand knowledge of Mac Aingil's work, and that they are supported by copious quotations.

In common with nearly all writers on the literature of early modern Irish, Mr. Ó Cléirigh falls into the error of overlooking the writings of the medical men. In several places Mr. Ó Cléirigh speaks of Mac Aingil as one of those who first wrote *Gaedhilg shimplí*—that is, an Irish style freed from the archaisms and stilted conventions of the traditional literary class (*Cf.* pp. 75, 91). But fully two centuries before the time of Mac Aingil the medical men were writing, and writing widely, in a style which was quite decidedly more simple than that of Mac Aingil and his fellow Franciscans and, it may be added, more simple than much of what is written to-day.

Some of the textual notes on pp. 81-91 might be omitted without loss. On p. 17, the late Dr. Plummer is inadvertently included among a list of living scholars. These and other slight blemishes (misprints, faulty punctuation, inconsistency in spelling, etc.) do not seriously take from the general excellence of Mr. Ó Cléirigh's work. They can very easily be corrected in the second edition, which, if this book receives the recognition it deserves, will quickly follow. F. S.

*RECHERCHES SUR SAINT LUCIEN D'ANTIOCHE ET SON ECOLE.* Par Gustave Bardy. Paris : Beauchesne. (Études de Théologie Historique). 1936. 60 francs.

THERE are few more obscure figures in early Church history than St. Lucian of Antioch, who perished in the persecution of Maximin in 311 A.D., and in whose shrine at Helenopolis, built in honour of his own mother, the Emperor Constantine was baptised just before his death. Like other saints, he has his hagiology, and there is even a legend that Charlemagne translated his relics to Arles. Unfortunately such details as are given in later accounts of him centre chiefly round his martyrdom. What gives him especial interest for modern scholarship, on the other hand, is the fact that he was the master of all the great Arians of the first generation, and presumably also of Arius himself.

Dr. Bardy, whose works on early Christian literature are widely known, has done great service by collecting and sifting in this most interesting volume all the evidence that exists concerning both St. Lucian and his pupils. The book is a model of literary research, whose only fault is a very welcome one, that its author is inclined to print his texts in full every time he has need of them—a process which saves the reader trouble, but rather enlarges the book. It deals with the life and writings of Lucian, his scriptural exegesis, which unlike that of Origen was not allegorical, and his school. The few fragments remaining of his work are printed and commented on. Of these the two principal are doubtful : they are the Symbol of the Council called " Encaenia " in 341, which Dr. Bardy thinks may actually reproduce a formula drawn up by Lucian long before, and an apologetic discourse preserved in Latin by Rufinus. This is supposed to represent Lucian's speech before his judges. The problem of its genuineness is a fascinating one, for it contains features which seem to date it about 311, but Dr. Bardy is compelled to decide that this problem cannot be solved.

What is most original and important in Dr. Bardy's work is the chapter in which he shows, following up and expanding earlier research by Dom Ceillier, Gwatkin, and Loofs, that in all probability the widely-accepted story of Lucian's lengthy excommunication is false, being

due simply to an identification of the saint with an obscure follower of Paul of Samosata mentioned once only in a letter from Alexander of Alexandria to his namesake in Byzantium. This conclusion, which is very plausibly argued, will occasion the necessity for revising the account of Arianism and its origins in practically all our histories of the early Church. In all probability Lucian, though he did teach Eusebius of Nicomedia, Asterius, and others (including Arius himself) who were afterwards heresiarchs, was never anything but entirely orthodox, even if echoes of his teaching naturally were heard in that of his disciples.

The second part of the book is a valuable detailed study of the literary remains of Lucian's disciples. Some of the texts, such as those of Arius, are naturally widely known to scholars, but it is very useful to have them in this context. Others, and especially those concerning that curious figure, the sophist Asterius, whom Athanasius always called "the sacrificer" because he had once yielded to persecution, are here assembled and skilfully commented on for the first time. It will be seen that Dr. Bardy has made a memorable contribution to a very distinguished series of historical studies.

M. T.

*SAINTE ANGELE DE FOLIGNO.* Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. By Louis Leclève. Paris: Plon. 1936. Pp. 243.

THIS small volume of less than 250 pages is to my mind just what a short life of a saint should be. M. Leclève gives us all the relevant facts of the saint's life and puts them in their proper historical setting. Furthermore, we get the marrow of her writings and instruction. And last but not least, we get a minimum of comment. We are not smothered with pious rhetoric on critical exegesis. This writer leaves the saint to explain herself, and that is all to the good. The passages quoted in full have been selected with rare competence and a fine flair for the essential. All the great "points" are brought out, and it is astonishing how much M. Leclève has packed into this small volume. He has done a real service to the reader who has no scholarly knowledge of Scholastic Latin and who distrusts the rather free versions of Hello.

When reading M. Leclève's version of Blessed Angela's account of her states as rendered to her confessor, one was struck by an extraordinary parallel of language with Madame Guyon! One cannot help wondering if this was a case of deliberate plagiarism. Had Bossuet's *bête noire* Angela's writings before her when she wrote her autobiography and scandalized the Eagle of Meaux?

JOHN HOWLEY

## Classics

*A HANDBOOK OF LATIN LITERATURE.* From the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine. By H. J. Rose, M.A., F.B.A. London: Methuen. 21s. net.

*AULUS GELLIUS.* Noctium Atticarum Liber I. Edited by Hazel M. Hornsby. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis. London: Longmans. 1936. pp. 293. 10s. 6d.

THREE years ago Professor Rose gave us a Handbook of Greek Literature which was at once gratefully accepted as the best of its kind in the English language. He has followed it in a surprisingly short time with a companion volume of which the same may be unhesitatingly said. In dealing with Latin he shows the same complete acquaintance both with his subject and with the most recent work on it that he shows in the case of Greek. He follows the obvious excellent guide in the great German compendium of Schanz, Hosius, and Krüger, but is everywhere independent in his judgment—although he refuses to allow Terence to Carthage, in spite of a recent article of Professor Tenney Frank. He has a sound taste and a robust commonsense of his own. In one case it is perhaps a little too robust, where he agrees with the late Professor Conway in spelling Virgil's name as "Vergil." It does not by any means follow, because there is no such Latin name as Virgilius, that "Vergil" is the correct English form. One might as well say that Horace should be called "Horat" because there is no such Latin as Horacius. Fortunately Professor Rose is otherwise almost entirely free from such excursions into pedantry. He even spares us, for once, from one of his favourite words, "Wiros."

Apart from its richness in information, this book gives a most valuable critical account of the growth and decline of Latin literature, with very thorough and altogether excellent summaries of its chief works. It would be difficult, for instance, to find a better appreciation of such great writers as Cicero, Livy, or Ovid than Professor Rose provides. Unlike its Greek counterpart, this book includes Christian literature in its scope, and here again is admirable. There are many strikingly just and concise judgments, as for instance on Livy's "Patavinitas" (where Professor Rose agrees with the very latest opinion), on the literature of the Silver Age—poetical prose and prosy poetry—and on Tertullian, who "seems to be always in a rage." A detail where Professor Rose has just missed being topical is his acute observation on the morbid fondness of Prudentius for descriptions of torture. It is an enduring Spanish characteristic, and we have recently had some unpleasing examples from the poet Lorca, killed in the Civil War.

One or two slight slips may be noted in a work of masterly

comprehensiveness. It is not Iuno herself who persuades the Trojan women in *Aeneid V* to burn the ships, but her messenger, Iris. M. Aper, not Domitius Afer, is the visitor to Maternus in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus ; and, incidentally, the statement that no one now seriously doubts its Tacitean authorship is too sweeping. Finally, exasperation drives the reader, who meets it at least four times, to inquire from what strange ghostly region comes the word " prefaratory " ? Is it a monster born from the union of " prefatory " and " preparatory " ?

The *Noctes Atticae* is nowadays mostly read for the sake of its quotations, especially from early Latin literature and the works of jurists. Its compiler was an unpretentious student in an age when literary antiquarianism was the fashion, and has been neglected partly because his own style is negligible, partly because he tells us so little about his time, the second century A.D., of which we should like to know more at first hand. Miss Hornsby originally prepared this edition of his first book as a thesis in Dublin University. She has done solid and detailed work on her text, and especially on the vocabulary of Gellius, which has a special lexicographical interest. Her notes are admirably full and learned, and the book makes an excellent introduction to Latin reading. It is to be hoped that she will go on with her work and give us the first adequate commentary on the whole of Gellius. M. T.

*THE FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN ITALY.* By Joshua Whatmough. London : Methuen. 1937. 25s.

PROFESSOR WHATMOUGH'S special field of research is comparative philology. Less than three years ago he published an important work on the *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, the fruit of many years of travel and investigation. In the course of his preparation for the earlier volume, this Harvard Professor had breadth of vision enough to understand the immense value of archaeological finds for the interpretation of the few scattered remains of the Italian dialects. Travelling from district to district, he made himself familiar with the brilliant work of the modern school of Italian archaeologists, and pieced together for his own use some sort of picture of the medley of races, languages and civilisations that went to the making of Italy before Rome imposed the yoke of *Pax Romana*. This second volume is the result of those preliminary notes and travels. Professor Whatmough does not write as a professed archaeologist ; but his own effort to make the early history of Italian civilisation intelligible, as a guide to his own linguistic studies, makes him a very competent and helpful guide for the ordinary student.

The book is divided into eighteen chapters. After three introductory sections on the general nature of the problem, the Italian peninsula

is surveyed, district by district. Liguria, Transpadane Gaul, Venetia, the Regio Aemilia and Umbria, Etruria, Picenum, the Latin plain, Samnium, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, Lucania: what a host of memories the very titles of the chapters recall. And each chapter gives an admirable summary of the local culture viewed in relation to the local language-development. For pre-Roman Italy was essentially local. There were, of course, elements that were obviously foreign, and that were felt to be foreign at all times: the Celts in the valley of the Po, the Etruscans on the western sea-board and up across the mountains of Central Italy, the Greeks in the south. But we are apt to overlook the variety of such races as the Veneti (probably Illyrian incomers) or the Piceni, who seem to have called a halt to the Umbrian invaders from the north-east. And there is the old, fascinating problem of Indo-European origins in this most gifted race of the Indo-European stock. Who were the makers of the *terremare* in the north? How are the Umbrians and so-called Villanovans related? Are the Romans from their origin a mixed race? And, if so, which is the predominant element, Latin or Sabine? And so on, through many another problem that has held its charm through the ages. Professor Whatmough has been generous with his maps and illustrations; and he reveals a very wide acquaintance with the surviving literary documents. Altogether, this is an admirable addition to Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology; and we congratulate both author and publisher. A. G.

## Fiction

*SPRING HORIZON.* By T. C. Murray. London: Nelson. 1937. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Murray has been known to lovers of Anglo-Irish drama for nearly a quarter of a century. His theme is mostly peasant life, though the situations which he evokes transcend class, passing beyond it into the universal. Mr. Murray is always an artist. His vision is sincere, his dramatic instinct unerring. It is part of his distinction that he could never be fitted into a mould; he conforms to no "ism," however poetical—realism, symbolism, impressionism, surrealism. That Mr. Murray is a man of wide culture and retentive memory those who long ago had the good fortune to listen to his too rare papers given before the Irish National Literary Society know well. But he remains, as an artist, unaffected by "movements." What he sees and experiences excites his imagination, which sets to work on that reality. The creative process is begun, and we get characters and situations so real and convincing that we could not alter one jot or tittle of what they say or do without being false to our own convictions also. Life as he sees it is his raw material; he does not shun its crudities, but

neither does he allow them to monopolise the stage, and he finds in those phases with which he is most familiar enough of tragedy or comedy without enhancing the effect by the over-emphasis of the vicious or the perverse.

In *Spring Horizon*, Mr. Murray's first venture into the novel, the author is absolutely true to himself. Some critics have divined that the book has in it a good deal of the autobiographical. In the chapter "The Mating" there is quite obviously the germ of *Sovereign Love*, and in the straying thoughts and quick imaginings of Stephen Mangan, as he sits at Sunday's Mass listening to the Irish sermon of which he did not understand a word, there is a hint of those first creative stirrings which preceded the writing of plays like *The Briery Gap*. Otherwise, *Spring Horizon* is the "fiction" of the boyhood and early adolescence of Stephen Mangan, son of a grocer in a country town in Co. Cork in the last decades of the 19th century.

Such a study in the hands of a writer like Mr. Murray is crammed with psychological interest. But the book is also a historical "document" "à la recherche des temps perdus." Before the advent of bus, cinema and radio—not to mention the revolutionary social and political changes of the last three decades—life in an Irish town on the edge of the "Gaelteacht" wore a different aspect from that which it has to-day. Many of these aspects are preserved for us by Mr. Murray with all the vividness which they assumed in the eyes of Stephen Mangan—a future artist. This boy's reactions to home and school; the fates and fortunes of the surrounding peasantry (his kin, yet removed from him by his town breeding no less than by the gulf of his own questing and introspective spirit); the trivial happenings of the town—fair, circus, political campaigning, boyish "Fenian" conspiring; the first insight into the mysteries of love and life—all these are set down with the fidelity of a "confession" and with the restraint of the artist that Mr. Murray always is. The language is invariably beautiful; the author imparts a significance to the apparently ordinary; the flow of the narrative is quiet, but the stream is full.

There is content and above all there are characters in *Spring Horizon*. Roger Mangan and his beautifully drawn wife—a woman at whose hearth I should like to have sat; the schoolmasters—a pair of contrasting figures; the "silenced" priest; the crazed farmer—turned prophet preacher and crying from the hills at night; Stephen's brothers—so unlike himself—all these make a gallery of simple, unassuming people, living out their lives in prosaic occupations. They are alive—substance, not shadow. The river Auling dividing the town of Carberymore—in its setting of beautiful woods and pastures—flowing now deep and full, now breaking into rapids and rushing over weirs, is a *leit-motif* to the music-drama in the boy's soul—a symbol of this epic of sensitive youth.

The beautiful Catholicity of the book has been emphasised by an English critic. It is part of the atmosphere of Mr. Murray's creations. It could no more be separated from them than he could be separated from his own soul. The book should be read by everyone who loves significant content and beautiful form. MARY M. MACKEN

*CANDLE FOR THE PROUD.* By Francis MacManus. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1936. 5s.

THIS interesting novel is the second instalment of a " trilogy " promised us by the author, the first being *Stand and Give Challenge.* With his first book Mr. MacManus made a reputation for ability to re-create for modern ears a period and a class (the 18th century and the Bards and Scholars of Munster in the Penal Days) which Mr. Daniel Corkery so finely reveals in *Hidden Ireland.* Both instalments of Mr. MacManus's trilogy are an excellent proof of the " quickening " which such a history as Mr. Corkery's may produce in the young creative mind. The tarnished poetic splendour of an age that knew Aodhagan Ó Rathaille and the hero of Mr. MacManus's work, Donnacha Ruadh Mac Conmara, shines with a new brightness in these stories. Mr. Corkery has had many critics—challenging and otherwise—of his *Hidden Ireland.* I should say that he is being more than justified by the emergence of books like this under review. It completes the rescue from oblivion of an age and a personality. It gives to the general reading public Irish cultural values that but for books like Mr. MacManus's might remain unknown except to scholars.

I do not want to leave readers of this review under the impression that this story wears a learned garb, reproducing schools or scholars of an age that is remote from us. That would be to mislead utterly. The book is evocative rather than reproductive. Mr. MacManus's studies are well in the background. It is the characters that dominate the picture, with their occasional lapse into weakness, their superhuman fight against circumstance. Despite the bitterness of fate, there is time for love in the lives of the daughter and the son of Donnacha Ruadh. There is greatness paired with weakness in the hero—bard and scholar, spailpín and beggar. Mr. MacManus has imaginative power. Not only his quotations are from the Old Testament ; some of its poetry and its grandeur have passed into this document. The background of the Comeraghs and the Knockmealdowns in the moods which Mr. MacManus chooses (though that lovely country knows others too which he will one day perhaps evoke for us) are in harmony with his modernistic style. Its staccato character holds something of the tremulous thunder and the jagged lightning that are symbolical of the storm-swept lives of the eighteenth century Irish Catholics. The book is admirably printed ; and the jacket, with its figure of the

old bearded spailpín under a lowering cloud-swept sky, is in harmony with the atmosphere of the tale. It is a book for any library, but, above all, for an Irish one. MARY M. MACKEN

## History

*EUROPEAN CIVILISATION.* By Various Contributors. Under the direction of Edward Eyre. Vol. IV. The Reformation. Oxford University Press. 1936. 18s. net.

IN a work bearing the title "European Civilisation" it is but proper that religious and ecclesiastical problems should bulk largely. The only criticism that the present volume evokes in this respect is that other aspects of a very complex movement are unduly excluded. The promise that would seem to be involved in the opening statements of M. Cristiani, recognising the inter-penetration of many factors and forces, is hardly quite fulfilled in the section—in most respects so satisfactory—which he devotes to the Reformation on the Continent. The Reformation itself was in most countries a very complex movement, in which the religious problems and development of individuals, the social, moral, political and economic conditions of the time interact in a most bewildering fashion. To understand even the religious side of the Reformation it is necessary to give their due weight to all these factors. A formidable task, it must be confessed, and one of which M. Cristiani by no means loses sight, and yet one which he hardly faces in all its fullness.

His account of the Reformation on the Continent is in most respects admirable. This verdict applies particularly to the treatment of Luther and Lutheranism. We have an objective presentation of the essentials of Luther's religious development. We see how his character, disposition and personal history prepared him for the reception of certain theological doctrines, which were almost inevitably distorted in the process of reception. His weakness as a creator of a theological body of doctrine or of an independent Church administrative system is made clear. There is also much truth in the assertion: "Rarely has the leader of a movement been less aware of the direction in which he was moving." But is not his success as a revolutionary leader in part dependent on this very fact?

The contrast in this and in other matters with Zwingli and Calvin is brought out with admirable clarity. The personal approach to their problems is in all cases strikingly different, and yet the author can regard all three as outstanding examples of the *mal du siècle*—"the terror of the conscience faced with the idea of an avenging God and haunted by the uncertainty of salvation." Hence the appeal made, with varying nuances, by the doctrines of salvation by faith alone and of predestination.

It is strange that the handling of his subject should weaken when the author comes to deal with the Catholic Reformation. Here we have something rather too much in the nature of a catalogue or "Who's Who" of persons and institutions. It will be admitted that the information here conveyed is useful, even necessary; but though it is well presented, there is a certain lack of grip in the treatment, and the details given are not sufficiently articulated into an account of the life and problems of the age.

Perhaps the most interesting section is that which comes from the pen of Professor Powicke, and which deals with the Reformation in England. More than once the author refers to his contribution as an "essay," and it certainly has all the characteristics of a brilliant and stimulating essay. By thus limiting his purpose and by taking for granted that the main features of the English Revolution—for such in his eyes is what Henry VIII accomplished—are familiar to his readers, he is the better able to give most valuable aid to the serious student of the radical changes of these days. The reader's judgment on the value of events and persons will not always coincide with the author's. This is but natural. Such judgments depend on considerations that transcend the limits of historical science. What we do get is a calm, almost dispassionate weighing up of the forces operating; but, however dispassionate, the account never lacks depth or sympathy with the actors in the tense drama that was being enacted. Further, it is abundantly evident that Professor Powicke possesses what so many leading historians lack, an appreciation of the importance of spiritual values and convictions.

Especially deserving of note is the opening section, which deals with "the Medieval Background of the Reformation in England." Again and again the serious student of the times must find himself confronted with the problem presented, not by the presence of heresiarchs, but by the widespread acceptance of their views on the part of the spiritual and lay leaders of the people—with the ultimate conquest of the masses. How did the break away of a few herald a revolution? How was it that orthodox opinion, especially in fundamental matters of Church government, did not in many cases seem to have been "deeply rooted but was easily stifled by fear and perplexity"? To the answering of these and similar questions Professor Powicke's introductory pages bring a contribution of considerable worth. The confusion consequent on the compromises, affecting practice if not principle, adopted to secure the smooth working of the medieval ecclesiastico-political system and to reach a practical delimitation of the claims of Church and State, now bore fruit, and a change, revolutionary in its significance, could be insinuated without anything like a full awareness of what it involved.

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The extent of the social upheaval consequent on the dissolution of the monasteries is a matter in which the reader may find it difficult to accept the conclusion reached by the author. It is obviously, however, a field in which considerably more detailed study is still necessary. One thing, however, does emerge, and that is that the economic changes which took place created powerful interests which would strongly oppose anything that seemed to promise a return to the older state of affairs. It is to be regretted that the Elizabethan settlement is treated only as an epilogue to the conflicts of the previous reigns; for everyone would appreciate a fuller consideration in an essay few pages of which will not repay careful study. Were one to sum up the results of this study—a very hazardous and perhaps unjustifiable experiment—it would be that the Religious Revolution was not in the logic of English History; but when it did take place, it assumed a form that was thoroughly English.

Dr. Brown's Chapter on the Reformation in Scotland will prove welcome to many. It displays the critical and authoritative qualities which mark all the contributions to this volume. Its well-balanced accounts and its refusal to be carried away by partisan views which centuries have hardened into seemingly granite-like tradition will help to remove many misconceptions of the moral and religious condition of Scotland in the sixteenth century, the attitude of the masses of the population, and the character of and strength of the conflicting forces. His careful analysis of these forces throws considerable light on the causes of the success of the Reformation north of the Tweed.

The attempt to force the religious change on Ireland is in the very capable hands of Fr. Ronan; and in sixty pages we get the result of his ripe experience, of his careful and objective study of the evidence available. His work in this sphere is too well known to most of our readers to need further commendation here. A comparison of the fate and character of the Revolution in the three countries, England, Scotland and Ireland—a comparison easily suggested by the three essays which we have just considered—will give rise to interesting speculations on the strength of certain historical factors, and will also suggest the necessity of further study and assessment of religious opinion in the years prior to and contemporary with the change-over. It would seem, for instance, that the people were much more definite in their positive attachment to worship and dogma than even to the essentials of Catholic Church Government. The necessity of the Tridentine reform must constantly be borne in upon the reader; he will perhaps also understand how that saving measure had to wait upon the catastrophe of the Revolution.

The volume closes with a section on Religious Persecution by Mr. Christopher Hollis. Its inclusion in this volume which bears the special

title "The Reformation" might mislead one as to its scope. In reality it covers the history of the attitude of the Christian ecclesiastical authorities to the question of persecution up to and including the Reformation. Indeed the attitude of the Reformers to toleration and the bearing of the Reformation on the growth of tolerance receive but comparatively scant attention—which is to be regretted. On occasion Mr. Hollis draws attention to the danger of approaching the consideration of this and allied questions under a too preponderant influence of modern preconceptions. Does he himself always avoid the danger? Is he historically fair to certain churchmen and certain points of view? Is it not probable that the attitude of the Church, like that of the State, to certain social problems and to the undertaking of certain social duties must vary with changing conditions? But these remarks are not meant to detract from the value of a thoughtful and careful study.

The whole volume forms a very welcome and most useful addition to Reformation literature. J. M. O'S.

*EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.* Its Origin and Development. By Various Authors under the direction of Edward Eyre. Volume V. Economic History of Europe since the Reformation. Oxford University Press. 1937. 25s.

THE great history of European civilization which owes its inception to the enthusiasm and generosity of Mr. Edward Eyre is approaching completion. The fifth volume covers an even wider field than is implied by its title. The effect of the reformation on economic theory and development is amply and ably explained by Dr. Margaret James. This is followed by excellent surveys of European economic history since the sixteenth century, in which no aspect of agricultural, industrial, commercial or financial life is overlooked. The third section, which is devoted to a review of modern sociological theories, contains a competent history of the growth of economic and social theory, and the concluding section is devoted to a study of the modern State. Space is found for an account of naval and military developments since the close of the middle ages and for a thoughtful essay on internationalism.

The mere enumeration of the topics discussed in this capacious volume suggests that it is entitled to be described as encyclopaedic. This suggestion is confirmed by an examination of the individual articles which it contains. Many of these articles are of the length of small books, and all of them are closely packed with information well reinforced by references for further reading. The reviewing of an encyclopaedia presents obvious difficulties, since few reviewers are competent to speak with authority on more than a narrow range of

the subjects with which it deals. The most that can be done is to examine the scope and arrangement of the subject matter, to evaluate the competence of the different contributors, and to take a random sample in search of errors or inaccuracies. The present volume emerges unscathed from this threefold test.

The scope and arrangement of the subject matter have already been described. It is unusual to find in a single volume economic history and the history of economic thought treated with equal competence, and the achievement has been rendered possible in the present instance by the care with which the contributors have been chosen. It is not necessary to mention all who collaborated, and the names of Mr. R. R. Enfield, Professor Carr-Saunders, Mr. A. E. Feavearyear and Mr. R. G. Hawtrey are a sufficient guarantee of good work to all students of economic literature. Finally the volume has failed to reveal any weak points when subjected to a fairly wide sampling test. It is possible therefore to greet this new instalment of Mr. Eyre's nobly planned and nobly executed history with unstinted praise.

G. O'B.

*IRISH MONASTIC AND EPISCOPAL DEEDS.* A.D. 1200-1600. Edited by Newport B. White. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1936. 17s. 6d. net.

FROM the great collection of documents preserved by the Butler family and now being edited for the Irish Manuscripts Commission under the title "Calendar of Ormond Deeds" Professor Curtis has segregated those of special ecclesiastical interest and entrusted them to Mr. Newport White for publication. He could not have placed them in better hands. This edition is a model of its kind. The deeds are carefully transcribed, elaborately indexed, dated and annotated. Their contents, covering the four centuries 1200-1600, are a useful contribution to Irish mediaeval Church history. Nothing, indeed, occurs that would explain—much less justify—the Reformation, but there are sidelights on its coming and on its consequences. Perhaps the most striking feature of the destruction of the monasteries is the greedy appetite of the Butlers for their property, with the spoils of which they shamelessly gorged themselves.

Their ancestors, it must be said, had acted in a very different manner. They were adventurers, like the rest of the Norman settlers, but when fortune favoured their enterprises, they thought it but just to expend a fraction of the gains in the endowment of religion. The first Butler foundation was the Cistercian monastery of Uaithne (Owney) or Abington in East Limerick, whose charter dates from before 1200. Theobald Fitz Walter, the donor, Pincerna or Butler of Ireland, had crossed over with Prince John in 1185, and had thus

lost no time in acquiring Irish lands. From the terms of the grant it is clear that Uaithne territory then extended westwards to the junction of the Mulcair and Slievemahera rivers near Barrington's Bridge. The present joint parishes of Castleconnell and Ahane seem to have belonged to the patrimony of the Aes Gréine, a sept that extended from Pallasgreen to the Shannon and occupied the site on which Limerick was later built. In all this region the Butlers either disappeared or lost their power to the Burkes, whose ancestor, William de Burgo, had accompanied Theobald Fitz Walter in the train of Prince John.

From the O'Briens the Butlers wrested the Ormond district of North Tipperary, which for a century and a half was to be the seat of their rule. The Augustinian Priory of St. John the Baptist (Teeh Eoin—Tyone) was founded by them in 1200 in the old assembly place of East Munster, Aonach Airmumhan, Nenagh. Its purpose, in part, was to serve as a municipal infirmary, for it was a condition of the grant that beds for thirteen sick people should be maintained by the Canons. The advowson of the church at Nenagh was bestowed originally upon the monastery of Uaithne, but it was revoked, as to one-half, in favour of the donors about 1217, when a strong castle was constructed in the town. Apart from Uaithne and Tyone there seems to be no mediaeval religious house that owes its origin to the Butlers.

So rapidly did their sway extend that before the end of the thirteenth century they were masters of all Tipperary and the predominant family in the neighbouring land of Ossory besides. During the Bruce Invasion of 1315, their chief representative became Earl of Carrick, whilst his successor became Earl of Ormond in 1328. But Irish power in North Tipperary steadily increased, and by the middle of the fourteenth century the English were driven back to the Thurles line. Shortly before 1400 the Butlers acquired the castle and manor of Kilkenny and became, in effect, lords of Ossory rather than lords of Ormond, though they persisted doggedly in their claim to the latter territory.

These changes are reflected duly in the ecclesiastical sphere. Nenagh disappears from the Butler records, whilst references to the Abbey of Holycross (an O'Brien foundation and a daughter-house of Mainistir-an-aonaigh, near Croom) become more and more frequent. Hardly less numerous are deeds dealing with the Cistercian Abbey of Jerpoint and the Augustinian Priory of Kells. Foundations in which the Butlers had a minor interest were the houses of Augustinian Hermits at Callan and Fethard; the Cistercian monasteries of Hore Abbey, Cashel and Inislounaght on the Suir; the Augustinian Priory of Canons Regular at Athassel; the cathedrals of Christ Church, Dublin and Holy Trinity, Waterford; the Crutched Friar Hospital at Newgate, Dublin, and

various friaries, chiefly in Kilkenny and Tipperary. There are references, too, to casual contacts with monasteries and priories in England and Rome.

As might be expected the major part of the contents of these documents has to do with grants of land, quit claims and business arrangements of all kinds. Points of more general interest are not, however, lacking. We hear, for instance, of perpetual war between the English element in Ireland and the native Irish in the fourteenth century. In May 1436 the monks of Uaithne beg the Earl of Ormond to come to their aid, for the O'Ryans, lords of the local territory, had compelled them to accept as Abbot an Irishman named Dermot O'Gleeson. No such calamity had befallen the abbey since its foundation, and the monks complain that their house is likely to fall entirely into the hands of Irish enemies "cum quibus nunquam gracia regnavit."

More peaceful subjects are dealt with in the kitchen account of Brother Walter Pembroke of Kells in 1382. We learn to a penny what he spent on figs, oil, pepper, saffron cloth, wooden utensils, a knife, a strainer, a shrine, repairs to a weir, geese, pigs and services rendered by inns. The people of Kells, he discloses, made their offerings in the parish church three times a year—at Christmas, Easter, and on the Feast of the Assumption. Their total contribution was £1 2. 8., but there were tithes besides. Brother Walter must have been a care-worn man, for expenses exceeded his income by a tidy figure.

To a different category belongs the sentence of deposition pronounced by the Bishop of Ossory on Elicia Butler, Abbess of the Augustinian Convent of Kilculliheen, Co. Kilkenny, in October 1532. This misguided lady had spent most of the revenue of her house on herself. So generous was she in this respect that the buildings were almost in ruin; whilst the unfortunate nuns were compelled to live in penury or to seek support from well-to-do relatives and friends outside. Elicia spent much of her time gallivanting in mansions and marble halls, not without injury to her good name. Yet evil as was her absence, her presence was more evil still; for when enthroned in the abbatial chair her vile temper and her strong arm brought nothing but misery to the community. The impression left by her trial and condemnation is that the day of reckoning was long overdue.

There are three appendices. The first, which consists of 43 "notes, extracts and transcripts from miscellaneous documents relating to monastic property granted to or acquired by the Butler-Ormonde family" (ranging in date from 1540 to 1711) shows the almost incredible extent to which that family profited by the Suppression. The second appendix gives succession lists of abbots, priors and other dignitaries; the third reproduces the Register of Kells. J. R.

*HISTORIC ENGLISH CONVENTS OF TO-DAY.* By Dom Basil Whelan, O.S.B., M.A. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1936. 7s. 6d.

*LA TRAPPE IN ENGLAND.* By a Religious of Holy Cross Abbey, Stapehill. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1937. 7s. 6d.

To the late Abbot Cuthbert Butler we owe in part this most inspiring account of the older English convents. For Abbot Butler urged repeatedly the need of a well-written, popular book, which should make the story of England's historic convents more familiar to the ordinary English Catholic. Dom Whelan's book will be welcomed by more than English Catholics. For the story he has to tell is full of isolated deeds of adventure and sheer physical courage, whilst underlying the whole tale is an impressive lesson in the unfailing truth that God's Providence watches over all who trust in Him. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries twenty-three English convents were founded abroad. They were recruited almost entirely from the older Catholic families that had remained loyal to the faith, and Dom Whelan observes very justly that the names of the sisters in these various communities read to-day like an extract from the *Catholic Who's Who*. One curious example may be given : the small community of Bridgettine nuns, which settled first at Malines, then at Antwerp, then at Rouen, and finally at Lisbon, included (in Queen Elizabeth's reign) two sisters whose father was a Wiseman, the mother being a Vaughan. And such names as More, Roper, Clifford, Jerningham, Petre, Throckmorton, Bedingfield, Howard, Pole are to be found again and again in the convents of this period. Many of these nuns were daughters, grand-daughters or nieces of well-known martyrs. Small wonder that their lives were fervent and their prayer unceasing for the conversion of England.

The most famous name among these convents is no doubt the Bar Convent, York, which is to-day older by a hundred years than any other English convent, reckoning from the date of the English foundation. But pride of place is rightly given here to the Bridgettine community of Syon Abbey, which is to-day (since 1887) at South Brent in Devonshire, the only convent in England that can claim direct descent from a pre-Reformation community. For Syon Abbey, a double community of men and women under the Bridgettine Rule, was founded as an English community in 1420, and it had existed for a full century before one of the monks of the community, Blessed Richard Reynolds—the " Angel of Syon "—gave his life for the faith in 1535. Soon afterwards the community was forced to fly to Termonde, but they and their neighbours, the Carthusians of Sheen, were back again for a brief period in the last years of Mary's reign. Thanks to

the Spanish ambassador, they were able to leave England safely in 1559; and Dom Whelan reminds his English readers of the endless acts of charity by which the Spanish government supported so many of these English communities in the Spanish Netherlands. From Mishagen, where the Calvinists were plotting their ruin, they escaped in the very nick of time in 1571 to Antwerp, where things were little better. Then on to Malines, where the Protestant mob broke into the convent by force and sacked the whole house. Abbess Palmer, who had ruled the community through these stormy years, died of the shock; but the community, still a double community of men and women, moved on to Rouen, where they spent fourteen troubled years in the midst of the French religious wars, suspected of English sympathies by one party, of Spanish sympathies by the other. Some of them even ventured back to England, and it was these pious women who were lodged at Lyford in Mr. Yate's house, when Edmund Campion came there in 1581; their eagerness to hear him preach was the cause of his arrest. From England they slipped back to France; and the whole community finally moved to Lisbon, where they lived in peace for more than two centuries. The written documents of this historic convent perished in 1651, when a lay-sister put ashes into a basket, "not thinking there was fire amongst them," and burned the whole convent to the ground. It was rebuilt, but this new convent was utterly destroyed in the earthquake of 1735. Dom Whelan publishes a vivid account of the earthquake, written by a sister who was washing tea-cups at the time. "Then I up and took to my heels, with 'Jesus' in my mouth, and to the choir I ran." But the choir had fallen in, and the next week was spent in a hut in the garden, amidst many fears. The letter ends: "P.S. I wish some that has it, and can afford it, could send us a brace of hundred pounds to repair the convent."

This Lisbon community escaped the terrors of the French Revolution, which drove most of these English communities back again to England from the Netherlands at the end of the eighteenth century. Dom Whelan has many a tale to tell of those days of fear, and of the anxious years when these surviving groups of holy women found shelter here and there in England. The Benedictine nuns of Cambrai (now at Stanbrook) were only saved from the guillotine by Robespierre's fall. Of the twenty-three original convents, twenty-one returned to England, and eighteen survive to-day. Dom Whelan gives a simple, moving account of the perils through which these women passed, in their cool determination to face any danger sooner than abandon the call to serve God in religious life.

The community of Cistercian nuns, now at Stapehill, Dorset, is not one of these eighteen communities, for it was founded just after

the penal years. But its history links Stapehill with La Trappe, and the anonymous volume now published tells its romantic story. La Trappe, alone of all the great French monasteries, proved strong enough to survive the revolution, and its Abbot led a wandering community of men and women from country to country in the Revolutionary Era, seeking a home in which once more to build a Cistercian monastery. The Cistercian nuns, led by Dom Augustin de l'Estrange and Madame de Chabannes, finally settled in England at Stapehill, founded in 1802. This book gives the story of the years of wandering that preceded the foundation, and has much interesting material as to the history of Lulworth, Mount Melleray and other Cistercian foundations of the time. There is also an exceedingly attractive account of the Cistercian way of life, which will, we trust, win many friends for the monasteries of an Order that has so many glorious traditions here in Ireland. **P. D.**

## Literary Criticism

*THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMANTIC IDEAL.* By F. L. Lucas. Cambridge: University Press. 1936. 8s. 6d.

"Does this mean that we have run full circle round the corner into the hands of Plato, once more, and into the arms of Mrs. Grundy? Are we handing over Poetry to be strait-laced by the Puritans on the one hand, prostituted for propaganda on the other by Fascist and Communist?"

This is what Mr. Lucas fears for himself as he finds himself disapproving of most Romantic and contemporary poetry for its want of relation to good life, its frivolous and morbid dreaming. He does right to be nervous, for he is not alone hostile to moderns like Mr. Eliot, but cold towards such as Wordsworth and Shelley. Partly perhaps it is the timidity of the academic and cloistered critic, who does not get to trust the poets until they are well dead. But chiefly it seems to be the results of a hasty and false generalisation. Mr. Lucas has fascinated himself with a terrifying and ridiculous spectre of romanticism, or rather a host of spectres—the crocodiles that rise from the subconscious, French poets with red waistcoats and green hair, narcissism, sadism, nastiness. He has blinded himself to the nobler follies of romance, and to what is not folly at all, its body of sound and fine poetry.

No one is better than Mr. Lucas when, as in his admirable *Studies French and English*, he takes us into his library and sets before us the classics of antiquity, France and England, in choice and liberal quotation, with a commentary witty and humane. Here, too, for a part of the book he is doing that—displaying fine things from his

store as he illustrates what may be understood by the term classic and romantic. But we are less at ease with him than when he was simply an essayist, because theorising is going on all the time, and Mr. Lucas is not at his best when he theorises. Thus, we enjoy the comparison of *Aucassin* to Homer, but the theorist in us is uncomfortable because it is being used to prove that the Middle Ages were more romantic ; we feel that Homer ought to have been put beside *Roland* or the *Poem of the Cid.* Our discomfort becomes an urge to protest when the survey reaches the Romantic movement, and we see a crazy parade of romantic follies (amusing in itself and well staged) presented as if it were the whole of the life and literature of that age.

The received poets of the present, notably Mr. Pound and Mr. Eliot, are disliked by Mr. Lucas as the ultimate decadents of romance. The former, we learn in a footnote, has been nettled by his critics' small but stinging shafts (the one that got home was a correction in Greek grammar). Mr. Eliot has apparently preserved his serenity.

Loosely attached to the body of the book are two other essays. One is a pleasant account of a tour in Iceland, recalling, in contrast to the strange diseases of the moderns, its clean, healthy literature. The other is an attempt to demolish Coleridge as a critic by a collective display of his blunders. It is not a satisfactory method, though an easy one. One might be tempted to try it a little on Mr. Lucas, quoting, for example, what he says about Shelley (p. 148), the *Tempest* (p. 86), and a sentence chosen by the publisher to adorn the wrapper.

But if Coleridge is not to be rejected for his extravagances, neither is Mr. Lucas. He is one of the best of our more academic critics ; and even here, away from his true ground, he says a multitude of good things. J. J. H.

*THE DRAMA TO-MORROW.* By Sir Cedric Hardwicke. The Rede Lecture. 1936. Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d. net.

*THE SIMPLETON, THE SIX, AND THE MILLIONAIRESS.* Being three more Plays by Bernard Shaw. London : Constable. 1936. 7s. 6d. net.

SIR CEDRIC HARDWICKE believes that the drama will survive, despite the encroachments of film and radio. He does not shrink from picturing the horrible near future, when people will not only put on their earphones to listen-in, but also, with television, don some sort of blinkers to "see-in." But he thinks human nature will revolt against such mechanised pleasure, and look again for the sociability, the co-operation of actor and audience in the theatre. And in the growth of amateur dramatic societies he sees a hopeful beginning of better things.

Mr. Shaw continues to write the drama of to-morrow, that is social prophecies and visions of judgment. In The Simpleton of the Un-

expected Isles something is seen in the sky which is thought at first to be merely an aeroplane, then perhaps an albatross ; it turns out to be something nobody can recognize without introduction, an angel. The angel judges the island society, offspring of an experiment in European and Indian group-marriage, and, like Ibsen's Button-Moulder, eliminates those who are uncreative and useless, and allows the strivers to live on. But the distinction between the two has not been made dramatically obvious. The play has little in it but touches of Mr. Shaw's unending and graceless wit.

The Millionairess, to gain something her money will not buy, starts life anew from the lowest rung of the ladder, and proves herself to be a true *maîtresse femme*, a boss by nature and not merely because she has money. This is a much better play ; it has dramatic life in it, and is perhaps the best Mr. Shaw has done for years.

The Six of Calais, a lively curtain-raiser, gains its effect by a usual Shavian trick, irreverence to the dignity of history and showing its heroes and heroines just like ourselves.

There are, of course, prefaces. Mr. Shaw writes of Communism and Fascism, and finds that both, by putting natural bosses in control, leave the ordinary man less free than he was under other ordinary men wielding only the power of rank or office. Neither Russia nor Italy has realised his Utopia ; but he still hopes and plans with all the optimism of youth. " We should begin," he says, " well to the left of Russia." J. J. H.

## Philosophy

*ARISTOTLE'S PHYSICS.* A revised text with introduction and commentary. By W. D. Ross, Provost of Oriel College. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1936. 36s. net.

It is something like 2,250 years since Aristotle wrote his *Physics*, and here is a new and sumptuous edition from the world's foremost University. According to Jaeger the *Physics* must have been worked out by Aristotle when he was yet a comparatively young man, still very much of a Platonist and possibly " in the very atmosphere of the Academy and under Plato's eye." " He stands," according to this authority than whom there are few, if any, better, " wholly on ground prepared by Plato," and his works on physics and cosmology are "essentially discussions within the Academy." None-the-less, while Aristotle may have begun his speculations on cosmology from a Platonic terminus, his critically constructive mind ended up very far indeed from Plato's system—or lack of system—in this problem of the *ens mobile*. Roughly, we might say that Plato would be probably more at home in Oxford, but that Aristotle would gravitate naturally towards Cambridge and the Cavendish.

There are eight books in the Physics, dealing in a masterly and so far unsurpassed way with the half-dozen or so basic problems which "changeable being" presents to the philosopher. It is in the first book that we have what can only be described as the ethereal beauty of the doctrine (one cannot speak of "theory") of matter and form. It has been well said, and there is solid historical evidence for the truth of the assertion, that St. Thomas Aquinas was the first mind after Aristotle to understand fully and perfectly the Aristotelian doctrine of matter and form. Certainly, the history of philosophy since St. Thomas's day and the efforts of non-Thomistic philosophers to-day go a long way to establish the probability of that assertion. For despite St. Thomas's crystal clear exposition and development of that doctrine, there is hardly a single scientist of note or a philosopher outside the School who does not reveal a naive misunderstanding of Aristotle's thought the moment he begins to discuss it.

Provost Ross's acceptance of the doctrine (p. 24 of the Introduction) was an agreeable surprise. But a much greater surprise was the fact that Provost Ross omits in his bibliography all mention of St. Thomas and of any Scholastic commentator. There are some 80 or 90 names given in a four page bibliography on Aristotle's *Physics*—and among them is neither St. Thomas nor John of St. Thomas nor Sylvester Maurus. Does Provost Ross really believe that any writer in his list, or any three together, threw one quarter of the light on the *Physics* that St. Thomas threw? We find mentioned Camotius, Erasmus, Morelius, Pacius, Vicomercatus—has the Provost lost all sense of humour or must we reluctantly conclude to the presence of vast lacunae in his scholarship? Surely he himself would insist on any of his students reading the standard works on their author before trying to be commentators. We cannot believe that childish prejudice against the Catholic Church, its writers and its traditional philosophy would blind such an Aristotelian lover and scholar as Provost Ross admittedly is to the position and importance of Aquinas in the interpretation of Aristotle? What, then, is the explanation?

At any rate, he has paid the price for his neglect of the scholastic writers. Many a mere tyro in philosophy, forgetting that Ross is a classical philologist and not a philosopher, will make merry over certain passages in the Introduction to this edition. Let it be said at once that the Introduction as a whole is a fine piece of work, deserving of the highest praise and completely worthy of its subject. In fact, the eighty pages on the natural philosophy of Aristotle are the best so far written in English—penetrating, subtle, clear, critical. But there are sections that would have been substantially improved, if the author had but gone to the shrewd comments of the Scholastics. The whole treatment of Zeno's paradoxes, for instance, awakens a hateful suspicion

that Provost Ross has failed not only to understand Aristotle's answer, but even to grasp Aristotle's whole line of thought on this question. And is the emendation at 239 b. 5–7 called for at all? On the contrary, is it not completely misleading?

But it is a genuine pleasure to welcome and praise this scholarly edition, with its beautifully printed text, its full analysis and careful commentary. It is an altogether worthy companion for Bywater's *Poetics*, Joachim's *On Coming-to-be and Passing-away*, Newman's *Politics* and Ross's own *Metaphysics*. Indeed, it is almost an impertinence to praise Provost Ross at this time of day: the quality of his work on Aristotle is taken for granted. It is not easy for the non-specialist to grasp all the implications of the modest words "a revised text," still less easy perhaps (despite Browning's Grammarian) to bring home to him the value of such revision. But those who value Aristotle and appreciate the importance of his sane thought in a more and more insane age will feel a deep debt of gratitude to Provost Ross for his patient labour and skill. E. J. C.

*LE REALISME METHODIQUE.* Par Etienne Gilson. Paris: Téqui. 1936. pp. 101. 10 frs.

M. Gilson's important work on medieval philosophy has given him a very definite attitude towards what is one of the predominant questions in modern philosophy—the critical problem. His commerce with medieval realism has shown him that modern Scholasticism has conceded too much to Idealistic principles or tendencies. *Le Réalisme Méthodique* is a collection of papers contributed to different reviews; but they have an organic unity and constitute a genuine contribution to epistemology. The main contention of the book is that Neo-Scholastics too often adopt the *point de départ* of the Idealist, sometimes unconsciously, sometimes deliberately, with the laudable intention of refuting the Idealist from his own admissions. That starting point is the *cogito* of Descartes; and M. Gilson is emphatic in asserting that a philosophy which starts from pure thought, from pure consciousness, will never reach reality. The work of a line of thinkers of genius from the founder of this method to Kant has established at least that result. The same conclusion is confirmed by the example of those modern Scholastics—such as Cardinal Mercier—who attempted to find such a thoroughfare, but with no better results than the giants who tried that way before them. Not many realists will contest this doctrine. In fact, this book will add momentum to a tendency that is growing among modern Scholastics. They are less and less prepared to concede to the Idealist the choice of such a starting point or of such a method as would command the whole route and the terminus. The starting point of realism is *res sunt* not *cogito*.

But a good many will refuse to go all the way with M. Gilson in his reaction against modern methods of approach. Will every Scholastic agree with his assertion that we cannot have a *critical* realism? Does "critical" bear only the meaning it had for Kant—the attempt to determine *a priori*, from an examination of the faculty, the nature and limits of knowledge? Again, is M. Gilson right in saying that every *cogito* is the *cogito* of Descartes, and will yield necessarily the same results? It seems to us that he has not understood the position of Père Picard, S.J. There will be reservations about certain points; it will be objected that the author does not recognise the full exigency of the critical problem for a realism that has to take account of Descartes and Kant. But the main thesis is not merely sound; it is fundamental in its conception of what is essential for a true realism. The last chapter, *Vade mecum du débutant réaliste*, is the most sensible and effective refutation of Idealism that we have seen. H. K.

*REALITY AND THE MIND.* Epistemology. By Celestine N. Bittle, O.M. Cap. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company; Dublin: Fitzpatrick. 1936. pp. 390.

THIS book is intended for those who have no previous acquaintance with the subject. Plain and simple language is aimed at; but barbarous formations, such as "extra-ego," frequently disfigure the style, and large words, such as "acosmistic," must be frightening to beginners. Each chapter is conveniently provided with a summary. The discussions are clear, but are not, and perhaps are not meant to be, deep or subtle.

The treatment follows the usual order. The problem of theory of knowledge is stated, and a history and refutation of scepticism are given. The standpoint of "critical dogmatism" is taken, and the "mitigated dogmatism" of Cardinal Mercier is rejected. The "truth-value" of consciousness, of sense-perception, of intellection and reasoning, is vindicated. The criterion of truth is discussed, the theory of "objective evidence" defended, and different false criteria criticized.

The work is very unequal. In many places the author inclines to over-elaboration of the obvious. Two historical chapters, on Idealism and on Return to Realism, are sketchy and not reliable. Imposing lists of authors are given, but in misleading classifications. Thus, under the peculiar heading "Neo-Psychologism," a curiously assorted medley of writers is assigned. One fears that the author has not always taken his references from first-hand sources. Under the heading "Personalism" he does, in fact, borrow a list of names from another writer. Such lists of names can scarcely be of much use for beginners.

The discussion of "consciousness" is somewhat puzzling on account

of the rather elastic meaning given to the word. Thus, we are said to be conscious not only of mental states, but of "the reality and existence of the body," and of the fact that impressions and perceptions are produced in us from outside.

The criticism of Idealism and of different forms of Realism is more successful. The most interesting portion of the book is that defending "critical presentative realism," as against "rigid presentative realism." The difficulties against the latter theory are very fully and forcibly put, and the conclusion is reached that secondary qualities are subjective. This position is inconvenient, as it seems at first sight to favour Idealism, the logical fallacy of which had been so neatly exposed in a previous chapter. In this issue, the author takes his final stand on the sense of touch, as revealing directly the existence of one's own body. Here one has the uneasy feeling that this may not be enough, that it may not be as important as the author throughout the book considers it to be, and that even in this last stronghold we are not quite safe from difficulties such as helped to discredit the other senses. Perhaps he has lightheartedly conceded too much in regard to the higher senses, which are, pre-eminently, "objective" senses.

J. S.

## Books Received

Adam, Karl. The Son of God. The Ark Library. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Barrett, James F. This Creature, Man. (Bruce—Fitzpatrick, 10/6).
Basho, Matsuo. Haikai. (Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. 20 fr.)
Baudrillart, Cardinal. Et vous aussi soyez prêts. (Beauchesne, 1.50 fr.).
Bernoville, Gaetan. Le Bienheureux Michel Garicoïts. (J. de Gigord, 12 fr.).
Bodkin, M. The Treasure of the Mountain. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
Bolton, Herbert. Rim of Christendom. (Macmillan, 25/–).
Boyne, Don. I remember Maynooth. (Longmans, 5/–).
Bregy, Katherine. Ladders and Bridges. Book of Verse. (McKay, $1.50).
Brooks, Eric. Register of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. (Stationery Office, 21/–).
Brown, Charles (Editor). Roman Breviary. Winter. (Burns Oates, 16/–).
Christlieb, M. They found God. Some little-known holy lives. (Allen & Unwin, 5/–).
Colligan, J. J. Cosmology. (Fordham University Press, pp. 95).
Connolly, T. L. St. Bernard on the Love of God. (Spiritual Book Associates, $2.50).
Cox, Ignatius W. Liberty: Its Use and Abuse. Vol. II. (Fordham Press, pp. 273).
Crofts, A. M. Catholic Social Action. (Browne & Nolan, 7/6).
Curwen, E. Cecil. The Archaeology of Sussex. (Methuen, 12/6).
Daly, James J. The Road to Peace. (Bruce—Fitzpatrick, 8/6).
D'Arcy, M. C. The Nature of Belief. The Hart Library. (Sheed & Ward, 5/–).
Decugis, Henri. Le Destin des Races blanches. (Librairie de France, 42 fr.).
Doucere, Victor. Curiosités linguistiques. (Emmanuel Vitte, 12 fr.).
Drascher, Wahrhold. Die Vorherrschaft der weissen Rasse. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsantalt, RM. 9).
Dubreuil, Hyacinthe. L'Exemple de Bat'a. (Grasset, 18 fr.).
Duggan, G. C. The Stage Irishman. (Talbot Press, 15/–).
Eagle, Albert. The Philosophy of Religion versus the Philosophy of Science. (Simpkin Marshall, 5/–).
Erskine of Marr, R. The Crown of England. (Dent, 6/–).
Feeney, Leonard. Fish on Friday. Cheap Edition. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
Fortescue, Adrian. The Mass. Study of the Roman Liturgy. With Additions by Herbert Thurston, S.J. (Longmans, 7/6).
Freeman, Martin. The Compossicion Booke of Conought. (Stationery Office, 7/6).
Frodl, Ferdinand. Gesellschaftslehre. (Wien: Hegner, M 20).
Gannon, P. J. The Old Law and the New Morality. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

Garrigou-Lagrange, F. R. Les Perfections Divines. (Beauchesne, 25 fr.).
Georges, R. P. Saint Jean Eudes. (Lethielleux, 25 fr.).
Gerald, Prosper. L'Evangile du Paysan. (Beauchesne, 18 fr.).
Gerest, R. P. R. Dominicum Convivium. La Sainte Messe. (Lethielleux, 18 fr.).
Ghika, Vladimir. Pensées pour la suite des Jours. (Beauchesne, 12 fr.).
Gide, Andre. Retour de l'U.R.S.S. (Gallimard, 6 fr.).
Gillet, M. S. Appel au Bon Sens. (Editions Spes, 15 fr.).
Graf, Dom Ernest. In Christ's Own Country. (Burns Oates, 10/6).
Gorce, Denys. Le Drame du Salut et la Parole de Vie. (Beauchesne, 16 fr.).
Grierson, Sir Herbert. Milton and Wordsworth. (Cambridge University Press, 8/6).
Hardiman, Sister Anne. Mother Margaret Mostyn. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Hessen, Johannes. Die Geistesströmungen der Gegenwart. (Herder, 2.20 M.).
Huby, Joseph. Les Mythomanes de l'Union Rationaliste. (Beauchesne, 5 fr.).
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PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN.
WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

**HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.**

## REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
## THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 25th day of January, 1937.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1936, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ... ... | £40,749 | 13 5 |
| To which has to be added:— | | |
| Balance of undivided profits from last Account ... | 25,917 | 3 2 |
| | £66,666 | 16 7 |
| The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz.:— | | |
| In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... ... | 30,000 | 0 0 |
| In reduction of Bank Premises Account ... | 7,500 | 0 0 |
| To next Account ... ... ... ... | 29,166 | 16 7 |
| | £66,666 | 16 7 |

The Reserve Fund remains at £700,000.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN and MR. CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12th January, 1937.

# THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1936. Cr.

| LIABILITIES. | £ s. d. | ASSETS. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share ... ... | 500,000 0 0 | By Cash in hand and with Bankers ... | 1,115,999 3 10 |
| Reserve Fund ... ... ... | 700,000 0 0 | „ Investments, viz.:— | |
| Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0 | | War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ... | 5,001,240 2 4 |
| Less: Held by the Bank ... 62,911 0 0 | 487,089 0 0 | Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities ... ... ... | 302,992 16 8 |
| Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits ... ... | 10,794,064 6 6 | | 6,420,232 2 10 |
| Sundry Agents ... ... ... | 33,840 13 10 | „ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ... | 5,981,224 2 3 |
| Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity ... ... ... | 4,722 7 8 | „ Sundry Agents ... ... ... | 9,418 10 1 |
| Profit and Loss Account ... | 66,666 16 7 | „ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off | 175,508 9 5 |
| | £12,586,383 4 7 | | £12,586,383 4 7 |

## PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1936.

| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ... ... ... | 108,023 7 11 | By Balance from last Account ... | 25,917 3 2 |
| Dividend to be paid in February, 1937, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 30,000 0 0 | | „ Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies .... ... | 148,773 1 4 |
| Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0 | | | |
| Balance to next Acct. 29,166 16 7 | | | |
| | 66,666 16 7 | | |
| | £174,690 4 6 | | £174,690 4 6 |

### AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1936, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 12th January, 1937. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
T. LEVINS MOORE,
WILLIAM R. NOLAN, } *Directors*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager*

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